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HERDER AND KLOPSTOCK

BY

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THESIS

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PREFACE

My interest in and appreciation for Klopstock and Herder was aroused through a study of Klopstock's poetical language and a subsequent Seminary course in Herder. The idea of the comparative study of their work and of their influence in the eighteenth century was suggested to me by Professor Julius Goebel, to whose inspiration and kindly guidance I owe sincere gratitude.

The object of this work has been to present a picture of the inner life and thought of those truly great geniuses, Klopstock and Herder. The first part resolves itself into an objective treatment of the personal relations of the two men, of Herder's knowledge of Klopstock's works, and of his critical estimate of them. In the second part an attempt has been made to show how the spirit of the new world of ideas and the new ideal of humanity, as created by Klopstock, found sympathetic response in Herder, and how it in turn received expression in his own life and works. The last chapter attempts, by means of a comparison of their poetic language, to give a more detailed presentation of the intellectual world of the two men.

When we consider the important position both Klopstock and Herder occupy in the cultural history of the German nation, and their remarkable influence upon their contemporaries, a work which aims thus to penetrate the inner life of such noble representatives of humanity will not seem futile.

HERDER and KLOPSTOCK

PART I

Chapter 1

Personal Relations

The spirit of the eighteenth century, which, by causing man to realize once more his true humanity, transformed his intellectual, religious, moral and political life, first manifested itself in England and France; from these countries it spread into Germany, where it found its deepest and fullest expression and gave rise to a new German culture. Literature and criticism were the active forces which probably did most to create this new spirit; they sought the real, the natural and the beautiful in art and life as opposed to the imitative, the unnatural and the artificial. Philosophy, however, joined hands with criticism, and the search for the aesthetic became at the same time a search for nature and for true humanity. The bearer of this new message was primarily the poet, the genius as the highest type of man, in whom all the human faculties were most perfectly developed and most harmoniously combined.

The influences at work in the eighteenth century were a protest against the intellectualism of the preceding age. During the seventeenth century man had looked with distrust upon his emotional nature and had allowed the philosophy taught by Descartes to determine his world of thought. Reason ruled supreme and dominated man's whole life. Customs, fashions and manners were artificial, cut and trimmed to satisfy a false code of etiquette and morals; nature herself suffered at the hands of the architect and gardener; religion, except among the Pietists, was a matter of form

and tradition and not of inner experience; art and literature were not spontaneous structures of the imagination, built upon a vivid experience of life, but cold products of the intellect working by the rules of a restrained imitation. Man had discovered the narrowness of the bounds which hedge in the usefulness of unaided reason; it had proved itself unproductive of the highest expression of art, of literature, and of life, and a reaction was inevitable. Humanity was bound to assert itself; man's feelings and imagination were again to play a part in human affairs. It was the advent of a new era.

The first poet to give this new spirit its deepest and fullest expression was Klopstock. He indeed had his forerunners in Brockes, who was the first to leave his books and return to nature for inspiration; in Drolling and Haller, who went further than Brockes and made man the object of their poetry; and above all in his own teacher, Gellert, who attempted to bring about a reconciliation between man and the universe by making the heart the source of man's happiness. Klopstock, however, passed at a bound far beyond these men; his genius was of a distinctly higher order. In him the old axiom, "poëta non fit sed nascitur", the real meaning of which had been forgotten, again proved its vitality and truth. Here was the great genius, the true poet for whom German literature had been waiting. His work proved that the highest art is an unconscious product of life and nature, and an expression of the full, healthy man himself. As a genius, Klopstock was at once the creator of a new poetic world; a world so vast, so sublime, that only the few were able to comprehend it. The introduction of the classical form in his poetry, too, hindered his attaining such popularity as had Gellert. It was inevitable that a poet possessed with such

an endowment should not be understood by all at his first appearance.

The first man to appreciate Klopstock fully was Herder; he possessed that height of feeling and intellect which alone could kindle at the divine spark which burned in Klopstock's poetry. Like the great poet, Herder too was a path-finder, a prophet, and a leader seeking truth. He sought inspiration for the new life in the history of the past, while Klopstock more often sought it in the present. But both sought it in experience; in life and not in abstract thinking. Herder, as thinker, was rather the critical interpreter of the new spirit; Klopstock, as poet, was its creator.

Herder's youth was passed in those years in which the new life brought by Klopstock was for the first time making itself felt most powerfully in the younger generation. As one just entering upon his literary career, he was more susceptible to its influence than was Lessing, who was of the older generation and whose position in the literary world was already established. Again, the new spirit was able to make a deeper impression upon Herder than it did later on the members of the Göttinger Hainbund; or on Goethe and Schiller, and, later still, on Fichtre, for it was in all its freshness and vigor when he caught it up and carried it on. Near the close of his own life, when "Germany's first singer" had just passed away, Herder recalls the time of Klopstock's first appearance and the effect his poetry had on him. It was like "a festive morn rising up over icy mountains." He acknowledges his remarkable genius as the creator of a new language, of a greater poetry, and a new life. When as a youth he read the first lyrical poems of Klopstock, it seemed to him as if the ancients had been brought home to him, and Horace and the muses had come down from heaven. Thus

early even, Herder found in the poet the spirit of humanity and the elements of true culture which he had met in the ancient classics.¹

Until the age of eighteen Herder lived in his native town of Mohrungen, and the last two years of this period, from 1760 to 1762, he lived in the house of Pastor Trescho, acting as his secretary and making use of his library for his own edification. A great deal of Klopstock's work had already been published,³ but exactly how much of it Herder found among Trescho's books it is impossible to determine; it is a reasonable presumption, however, considering the many works he did find there,² that he made the acquaintance of the "Messiah", if not more, during these years. Even though a man of Trescho's temperament could scarcely have appreciated Klopstock's new spirit, yet, considering his pietistic views, the religious enthusiasm expressed in Klopstock's poetry, particularly in the "Messiah", must have attracted Herder's master.

Herder possessed a religious, lyrical nature, derived in some part from his parents' teaching and his early training, and the religious, lyrical tones in Klopstock's poetry undoubtedly

1) Suphan XXIV, 202, 277, (1803). Compare Suphan, I, 165, (1767); II, 42, (1768); XXIV, 293, (1803).

2) Erinnerungen I, 29. Opitz, Haller, Hagedorn, Gellert, Uz, Lessing, Creuz, Young, Kleist, Simon Dach. Haym (I, 14) believes Herder read the "Messiah" in Trescho's library.

3) Up to 1762 there had appeared of Klopstock's works: 1748, "Der Messias", songs I to III, in "Bremer Beiträge"; 1749, a reprint by Hemerde in Halle; 1751, volume I of the "Messiah", songs I to V, (Hemerde, Halle); 1752, reprint of songs IV and V; 1755, revised edition of volume I, and first edition of volume II with songs VI to X, (Copenhagen); 1756, volume II, published separately; 1760, a new edition of volume I. Beginning with 1748 in the "Bremer Beiträge", Klopstock's odes and elegies appeared each year in various publications, sometimes without the author's knowledge. "Der Tod Adams", Klopstock's first drama, appeared in 1757, (Copenhagen and Leipzig). In 1758 appeared the first part of the "Geistliche Lieder". Of Klopstock's prose writings there was published in 1753, "Drei Gebete eines Freigeistes, Christen und guten Königs", (Hamburg); while in the edition of the Messiah of 1755 appeared the two

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found ready response in his heart.¹ He himself tells us what a powerful impression the poet made on him: "My power of imagination in a healthy mental condition is much too cold for my ever becoming an enthusiast; but this much I know, that individual passages in Klopstock made such a deep impression on me that for days at a time my soul was attuned to them, (stimmten den Ton meiner Seele).²

From the summer of 1762 to the autumn of 1764 Herder lived in Koenigsberg. Here Hamann, who was already well acquainted with Klopstock's works, recognized the young critic's unusual talent and became his teacher. Indeed Hamann had read and studied Klopstock's "Lieder",³ odes and prose writings,⁴ Letta's posthumous works,⁵ and the "Messiah",⁶ - practically all that had appeared of the poet. As early as 1759 he recognized Klopstock's lyrical genius and his great talent as a writer of prose.⁴ A year later he compared Klopstock and Bodmer with Homer.⁶ He considered Klopstock a master of the German language and prosody, while he called his prose "a model of classical perfection".⁷ In the very year Herder came to Koenigsberg, Hamann termed the poet "a great singer of Germany"⁸ and the "great restorer of the lyric".⁹

essays, "Von der heiligen Poesie" and "Von der Nachahmung des griechischen Sylbenmasses im Deutschen".

1) Suphan, XIV, 277, (1803). Lebensbild I, 1, p.154.

2) Suphan, I, 523.

3) Hamann, I, 298. Hamann to G. E. Lindner, Sept., 16, 1758.

4) Hamann, I, 414. Hamann to J. G. Lindner, in Riga, July 20, 1759. Hamann, II, 22, (1759). Hamann recalls the fact that Klopstock had said the Germans had not studied Luther's language enough.

5) Hamann, I, 447, 466, (1759).

6) Hamann, III, 6. To his brother in Riga, Jan.9, 1760. Hamann says Bodmer and Klopstock both studied Homer.

Hamann, III, 199. To J. G. Lindner, June 29, 1763. Hamann considers v. Moser's epic the best before Klopstock and Gessner.

7) Hamann, III, 305, (1762).

8) Hamann, II, 163, (1762).

9) Hamann, II, 303, (1762).

Even if Herder had not read Klopstock before coming to Koenigsberg, which seems improbable, there is no doubt ~~that~~ that Hamann aroused an appreciation for the German poet, as he did for Shakespeare, in his young pupil.¹ Herder's early poetical works, in spirit and language, reveal an influence of Klopstock;² his other work, too, shows that the poet had taken a place in his intellectual life during his stay in Koenigsberg. The outline made for "Ueber die ältesten Urkunden des Menschengeschlechts" shows that the treatise was intended to be a comparative study of the modern and ancient epic. The writings of Klopstock, Milton, Bodmer, Gessner and of other poets were to be compared with the oldest poetic monuments.³ Among his other productions were a plan for a history of poetry,⁴ a comparative study of Horace and Pindar, and of the Greek and French tragedy,⁵ and an essay on the ode.⁶ Thus, even at this early age (he was scarcely ^{twenty} _^ years old) Herder's talent in the field of comparative criticism in all forms of literature manifested itself. Klopstock and Milton aroused his interest in the epic; Shakespeare enlisted his mind in a study of the drama.⁷ Klopstock's lyrics, most probably, and the simple songs in the great English poet's plays, became a new source of inspiration for Herder's love for the lyric and song. This love had been awakened when, early in his youth, he learned to read the Bible and hymnal at his father's knee;⁸ later it was to break forth in his enthusiasm for the Volkslied.

- 1) Erinnerungen I, 114. Lebensbild I, 2, pp. 5, 9, 116. When Herder went to Riga he and Hamann continued their interest in Klopstock and sent each other manuscript copies of his works.
- 2) Erinnerungen I, 90. Compare Haym I, 63, 281, 416.
- 3) Erinnerungen, I, 90.
- 4) Lebensbild I, 3, a, p. 98ff. 8) Erinnerungen, I, 70.
- 5) Lebensbild I, 3, a, p. 8ff. Lebensbild I, 1, p. 154.
- 6) Lebensbild I, 3, a, pp. 61-98. "Hamlet".
- 7) Haym I, 61. Hamann introduced Herder to "Paradise Lost" and

In 1764, the year he went to Riga, Herder showed in a discussion of the drama, "Salomo", that he had already comprehended Klopstock's genius. An unfavorable criticism of the play, wherein it had been measured by the traditional dramatic rules of the critic and found wanting, had just appeared. This Herder answers by condemning the critic who compares every new work with a standard and so neglects entirely that very element of genius which makes the new author's production distinctive from all other recognized masterpieces in the same department of literature.¹ Herder recognizes that the true genius is original and produces his own laws. He repudiates all attempts to manufacture formulae and to pronounce an epic, a drama impossible unless it follows the Greek or Latin classics as models. If the critic were to do this, he protests in the "Fragmente", Shakespeare and all the unborn Shakespeares for whom the German stage hopes, Ossian and Klopstock and all future Ossians and Klopstocks for whom German literature is waiting, would cry out against him.² Here we see clearly that these three, Shakespeare, Ossian, and Klopstock, are for Herder three original geniuses, true poets, born and not made, who threw aside all existing rules and conventionalities and became a law unto themselves.

We get a personal touch of Herder's interest in his contemporaries in a letter written to Gleim in February, 1767. He tells us that in his study in Riga hung the pictures of several favorite Germans, with none of whom he became personally acquainted till later. The pictures were hung in a triangle; at the top was Klopstock, then Gleim and Kleist, and below Haller, Winckelmann and Bodmer.³ Klopstock and Winckelmann, Herder considered two extremes

1) Suphan IV, 311.

2) Suphan I, 437.

3) Lebenslild I, 2, p.237.

of the German genius, two margraves of German majesty.¹

It was Herder's belief that even the poet himself, in reading his own productions, could never again attain the height which his emotions had reached at the time of the original inspiration, although he could approach it more nearly than any other mortal.² He was always anxious, therefore, to hear an author, who alone could evoke the best from his work, declaim it. Finally he writes to Scheffner in 1766, that he is very anxious to go on a journey to hear Ramler, Ebert and Klopstock recite their poetry.³ We will recall here that Herder often said that the human soul could be reached more perfectly through the sense of hearing than through any other ^{of the} senses; hence the importance of hearing poetry read aloud. He was not to set out, however, till three years later.

On May 24, 1769, he left Riga, and set sail on June 5th. From the "Reisejournal" (1769) we know how anxious Herder had been to get out of his study and away from his writing-table, and to enter upon a wider world of actuality and humanity; upon a larger quest of personal development and actual experience of life. Hence we can understand why he took few or no books with him when he set sail.⁴ But when he later, on board ship, regrets not having brought Klopstock's "Messiah", "Lieder" and "Hermannschlacht",⁵ the place which Klopstock's works occupied in Herder's inner life becomes most significant. It was his earnest intention to disembark at Copenhagen and visit Klopstock, but a series of unfortunate circumstances prevented this and carried him on to France.⁴ How deeply he regretted this failure, and how much he hoped to have gained

1) Suphan III, 250, (1769).

2) Suphan V, 365, (1772).

3) Lebensbild I, 2, p.192.

4) Briefwechsel mit Nicolai, p.46. To Nicolai, August, 1769.

5) Lebensbild II, 14. Erinnerungen I, 139. To Hartknoch, June, 1769.

from a personal acquaintance thus begun, we learn a few months later from the "Reisejournal". He breathes a devout wish that he might have become acquainted with Klopstock's wonderful mind and personality. He would have read the "Messiah" together with him; have heard him recite his own poetry, and have obtained a proper idea of his meter; have learned of his great conception of the "Messiah" and of his religion; have discussed current events with him. Above all he wishes he could have caught "a spark of his fire"¹.

Klopstock knew of Herder's journey, and, it would seem, expected a visit from him, for in a letter to Gleim, written September 7, 1769, he refers to the critic's voyage. He speaks of Herder as a "critical mountain which has given birth to mice and squirrels". A critic, he adds, has but a single voice, and of this voice he demands that it be not of small volume, if it would make itself heard.² He does not recognize, or does not wish to acknowledge Herder's superior talents as a critic. This is characteristic of Klopstock; he always felt a pride in being a poet, and a poet alone, and master of his own productions. Only four years before his death he wrote to Herder: "I have never wished to rule over others in anything; but (thanks to you once more, my genius!) neither have others ever ruled over me."³

In Nantes, during the summer of 1769, Herder regards himself an exile from German literature, for he is unable to procure a single book in German. Among other works he longs to see again Klopstock's "Messiah", "Lieder" and "Hermannsschlacht",⁴ just as he had longed for them on board ship. He regrets that the French

1) Suphan IV, 434, (1769).

2) Klamer Schmidt II, 234.

3) Lappenberg 418. To Herder, November 13, 1799.

4) Lebensbild II, 40. Brw. mit Nicolai, p.47. To Nicolai, Aug. 1769.

know nothing of Germany but its name. The "Litteratur Briefe", he says, were mistaken in their estimate of the impression made by the "Journal étranger" on the French. The latter know only corrupted names and possibly a few fragments, but little of the real status and content of German literature. Gessner is best known and most admired of the German poets; Klopstock certainly is not adapted to the French taste. The French philosophers, he believes, even to Diderot, the greatest of them, know only too little of German philosophy.¹

Before 1771 Klopstock's odes had not appeared in book-form and were circulated largely in manuscript among his friends and admirers. Herder was one of the most ardent collectors of the poems, for which he wrote from one end of Germany to the other.² In the summer of 1770, Herder and Caroline Flachsland, his beloved, read Klopstock together in Darmstadt; particularly the lyrical poems, so carefully gleaned from many sources, which they recited and sang together.³ To his whole circle of friends in Darmstadt Herder read the odes and the most beautiful passages from the "Messiah".⁴ It was in this city, too, that the first edition of the odes was published early in 1771.

From October, 1770, to April, 1771, Herder was in Strassburg undergoing medical treatment. During these months, amid all his physical suffering, he opened up a new world for the young genius, Goethe, and made him see the true mission of the poet. In his dreary hours of solitude, however, he turned for relief and comfort to the ancient classics, to Ossian, to Shakespeare and

1) Brw. mit Nicolai, p.53. To Nicolai, Paris, Nov.30, 1769.

2) Lebensbild III, 1, pp. 157,224,276,308,325. Lebensbild I,2,p.116.

3) Nachlass III, 81. Erinnerungen I, 154.

4) Erinnerungen I, 154.

Klopstock.¹ In Bückeburg, where he went from Strassburg, he was still reading Klopstock.² In a love letter to Caroline he draws upon the strength of his admiration for Klopstock for a forcible image of passionate emotion: "You are as much to me as the chapters in the Koran, which the angel, Gabriel, brought to him, were to Mohammed; every letter is worth more than an ode of Klopstock! - for it is truth, an out-pouring of the most beautiful, and the fullest heart; simplicity itself; yea and amen!"³

Herder also recognized the deeper meaning of Klopstock's poetry, for in his knowledge of the human soul he places Klopstock with Homer, Sophocles, Dante and Shakespeare, "who have contributed more toward psychology and knowledge of human nature than the Aristotles and Leibnitzes of all peoples and all times."⁴ In Herder's opinion the great poet is at the same time a great philosopher. Shakespeare, as poet and philosopher, penetrated deep into the very fundamental elements out of which human nature grows; Klopstock succeeded in attaining the height at which a spiritual soul detaches itself from objective and earthly things, and realizes its own nature.⁵ Homer and Sophocles, Shakespeare and Klopstock, are poets of the emotions, of passions, of love; they know the human heart to its greatest depths; they do not pick to pieces, philosophize over motives, impulses, emotions and feelings until no real enjoyment, no real life is left for the reader; they are creators and exhibitors of the human soul; they present the operation of all motives, the play of all impulses. Thus they bestir the blood, overwhelm the mind, and arouse the sympathy of their readers.⁶

1) Erinnerungen I, 161.

2) Nachlass III, 81, 125.

3) Nachlass III, 344, 458.

4) Suphan VIII, 171, (1778).

5) Suphan VIII, 184, (1778).

6) Suphan II, 174, (1767-68).

In his power to express the thoughts and feelings of the innermost depths of the soul, Klopstock is a poet, philosopher and psychologist all in one.¹

In a letter to Lavater, written October 30, 1772, Herder calls Klopstock a heavenly genius in a human body.² Four months before, he writes to his betrothed that he is very anxious to meet Wieland, but he must confess he is more anxious to know Klopstock.³ Up to this time he had not even written to the genius he admired so much. In the spring of 1773, however, Herder sent his review of Klopstock's odes⁴ and "Von Deutscher Art und Kunst" to Klopstock by his friend, Claudio. In his letter to Herder, May 5, 1773, Klopstock says that he had intended writing before he heard from him, in order to ask him why he had criticized the "Hermannsschlacht" as lacking in dramatic action, and to inquire what his ideas concerning the drama were. It seems the proposed discussion was never consummated.

This first letter, the beginning of the correspondence between the two men, is very important; written in 1773, when the poet was forty-nine years old, it shows how much he thought of Herder as a critic, although the latter was a full twenty years younger. It is evident that since his letter to Gleim, in 1769, Klopstock has learned to appreciate the young critic's superior ability. He remarks: "In all my life, I have never written to one who - even in the best sense of the word - was a critic; you are the exception and will doubtless remain the single exception. The main reason for this is that you are a critic by virtue of your delicacy of taste (sehr starke Empfindung)".⁵

1) Suphan II, 42, (1768).

2) Nachlass II, 42.

3) Nachlass III, 270.

4) Appeared in Nicolai's "Allgemeine Bibliothek". 5) Lappenberg, p. (249).

Herder visited Lessing and Claudius in Hamburg in April, 1770,¹ but he did not meet Klopstock, who was still in Copenhagen. According to a letter which J. G. Zimmermann wrote (October 14, 1774) in answer to Herder's letter of September 27th, it seems the latter had intended going to Hannover on September 11th to see Klopstock, who visited Madame Alberti on that day.² The first week in April, 1775, the poet came to Hannover again,³ but Herder was not to make his acquaintance till eight years later.

In the spring of 1783, Herder, accompanied by his nine-year old son, Gottfried, went to Hamburg, where he met Klopstock for the first time.⁴ In acknowledgement of this visit Herder writes to Klopstock, July 3, 1783: "Yes, dearest Klopstock, I wish my visit with you had been more than a visit - could have become friendship. I have always had the highest regard for you; now I love you, and the tranquillity (Ruhe)⁵ which hovers about you, often comes to me. I wish I could live near you, in happy Holstein; yet! - and yet - "oft He fulfills, what the longing"- or He gives us something better. I desire nothing more in this life!"⁶ How different would have been the result if Herder had met the poet in 1766, when he longed to leave Riga and go on a pilgrimage, or even if he had seen him in 1769, when he hoped to catch "a spark of ^{his} fire!" Herder was but a youth then and the world was still but opening before him; Hamann had helped to awaken in him a taste for the genuine in art, and in Klopstock he would have found a second great teacher and the realization of his idea of a genius. Nevertheless, it was

1) Lebensbild III, 26. Nachlass I, 357.

2) Nachlass II, 342.

3) Nachlass II, 349.

4) Nachlass II, 238. Erinnerungen II, 238. Herder's Familienleben,

5) This tranquillity was lacking in Herder's nature.

6) Lappenberg, 310.

still an event for him to be able to make the personal acquaintance of the great man who had expressed his own feelings and thoughts, whose language and verse he had studied, whose odes he knew by heart whose footsteps he had followed in his own poetry. He had assimilated Klopstock's spirit so fully that there was little new for him to learn when he made the poet's personal acquaintance. The best that was in Klopstock's soul he had long before discovered, and incorporating it in his own heart, had expressed it in his own work and life.

This short visit in Hamburg was but a pleasant memory for Herder, until Frau Johanna Elizabeth von Winthem, who may be ranked among the "Klopstockianer" in her admiration for the poet, cast a cloud over it. Someone had called her attention to the nineteenth of the "Theologische Briefe", in which Herder criticized adversely the use of Biblical history as a subject for epic treatment. She considered such criticism an indirect condemnation of the "Messiah", and became suspicious of the way in which the critic avoided a direct mention of Klopstock's masterpiece. She was unable to understand how anyone could hold such a view and yet have an honest admiration for Klopstock's genius as a poet; she wrote a long letter to Herder, in which she demanded an explanation. Herder in all probability, did not answer this letter, and there is no evidence of any direct correspondence between him and Klopstock for a period of twelve years or more.¹

After the year 1795, however, the relations of the two men became more and more friendly. The disfavor with which both viewed critical philosophy,² their dislike for Goethe and Schiller,³ their

1) Haym II, 189.

2) Lappenberg, 402. Archiv für Litt. Gesch., 1873-74, Vol.III,407.

3) Archiv. für Litt. Gesch., Vol. III, pp.396,400,409.

attitude toward English literature,¹ their linguistic and aesthetic studies, their patriotic endeavors, kept their interest in each other alive.² Friends, acquaintances, or young protégés frequently brought tidings from one to the other and thus the bond of friendship was drawn more closely together.³ In July, 1797, Herder's son visited Klopstock.⁴ On March 21, 1797, Klopstock sends his friend the ode, "Unsere Sprache an Uns", which had been omitted from the Göschen collection.⁵ He sends Herder a few epigrams "for his desk or for the 'Aurora'" on November 13, 1799, and follows them with more two weeks later.⁶ Finally, in his letter of December 5, 1799, Herder bids Frau Klopstock send him a copy of Gluck's composition of Klopstock's odes.⁷

Indeed, although the two men had not written to each other for twelve years or more, Herder had never forgotten Klopstock. In the twentieth of the "Theologische Briefe" (1780-85) he calls the poet one of the greatest composers of hymns;⁸ and in the forty-seventh "Brief" he considers him perhaps the first poet in the expression of sublime majesty (stille Majestät) and of "sanfte Güte".⁹ In the essays dealing with Ossian and Homer (1791-96) Klopstock is considered greater than Milton, and to be compared only with Homer and Ossian.¹⁰ In the second part of the "Terpsichore" (1795) Herder apostrophizes Klopstock: "O great, amiable poet, speaker of the purest emotions of our soul, thou canst sometime bow thy head happily; in thy songs thou hast become a swan, whose voice will die away only with the last notes of our language."¹¹

1) Archiv für Litt.Gesch., Vol.III,pp.393,407. Lappenberg,379.

2) Compare Luncker, "Klopstock", 537.

3) Lappenberg, pp.379,402,417,422. Archiv für Litt.Gesch.Vol.III,266

4) Archiv für Litt.Gesch.,Vol.III,268. 8) Suphan XI,

5) Lappenberg, 379.

9) Suphan XI,81,(1781.1786).

6) Lappenberg, pp.418,419.

10) Suphan XVIII, 590.

7) Lappenberg, 423.

11) Suphan XVII, 172, (1795).

Both great men died the same year, - Klopstock on March 14th, and Herder on December 18, 1803. Their mutual friend, Gleim, preceded both in death. Caroline Herder writes to Georg Müller concerning the death of her husband's two friends: "Good old 'fiery' Gleim worried enough over this delusion (philosophy); may he be at rest now, that man of intellect and heart! And so, too, may Klopstock rest, that heavenly soul! The death of these two men affected my husband very much."¹

When the great poet died, Herder poured out his soul once more in praise of him. He was about to compare Horace with two of his emulators, with Klopstock and Ramler, when the news of the death of "Germany's first singer" reached him; his pen dropped from his hand, and refused to compare Klopstock with anyone. Klopstock stands alone! Herder sees the poet's sacred muse appear before him, and hears her proclaim his merits. 'Before Klopstock's appearance the German poets were "thruming on a wooden chopping-board" of Alexandrines, rhymed iambics, trochees and dactyls; but Klopstock's muse brought, whence she came, an entirely new meter. In spite of scorn, mockery and complaint, Klopstock continued in his new path, for he knew he was seeking the highest simplicity in form and the purest grace and charm. The highest poetry was his goal, - the poetry of the heart. He made the whole German language melodious in his own original way. In his "Messiah" he gave the Germans their first classical book, excepting Luther's translation of the Bible. He recreated the poetic language of Germany, and his creation will remain as long as the echo resounds in the woods and in the mountains. His voice will never die away as long as the German language lives,

1) Preussisches Jahrbuch, Vol. 29, 158.

but his peaceful soul dwells above.¹ Thus Herder summarizes his estimate of Klopstock, the first great modern poet of Germany.

Suphan XXIV, 220, (1803)

PART I

Chapter 2

Herder and the "Messiah"

For centuries the epic had been considered the most elevated and commanding form of poetry. The highest ambition of the poet was to become a German Homer, just as Virgil had become a Latin Homer. In the period following Opitz, translations were made of French and Italian epic poetry by Tobias, Illebner, and Dietrich von dem Werden; and attempts at writing an epic, dealing in large part with heroes of the Thirty Years War, were made by Johann Sebastian Wieland, Johann Freinsheim, Georg Greflinger and Freiherr von Hohlberg. Beginning with the eighteenth century the epic took the place of the earlier prose romances; we find among its composers Christian Heinrich Postel, Johann von Besser, Johann Valentin Pietsch, Johann Ulrich von König, Daniel Wilhelm Triller, Ludwig Friedrich Hudemann, Franz Christoph von Scheyb and Karl Gustav Heraeus. Bodmer made an outline for his "Noah" in 1742. In imitation of Boileau and Pope the burlesque epic also found its exponents in Germany in Zachariah and Uz. The epic had secured its noblest expression, however, outside Germany, in England and France ("Paradise Lost" and the "Henriade"); the English poem was to be a source of inspiration for the greatest of the modern German epics. When Klopstock, therefore, attempted to write a German epic, he was not treading upon new territory, as far as the literary form was concerned.

It is notable that when the first three songs of Klopstock's "Messiah" appeared in the "Bremer Beiträge", early in 1748, Germany was not prepared to receive a work of such high merit. The public taste was not sufficiently developed to comprehend and appre-

ciate the lofty flight of Klopstock's genius.¹ Among the Swiss school of critics, however, it aroused the greatest interest and enthusiasm. The work, which was ultimately to bring about the downfall of their literary opponents in Leipzig, immediately became an object of adoration for its Swiss admirers. They recognized in it the perfect application of the new theories which they had brought forth, and greeted the young poet with the most extravagant enthusiasm. Klopstock is hailed as a poet on whom the spirit of Milton rests;² he is thought, even, to surpass Milton, and is considered greater than Virgil and Homer.³ To compare him with Virgil would be like comparing Newton with Euclid.⁴ Klopstock's poetry is proclaimed not merely a novel and unprecedented addition to German literature, but indicative of a hitherto undreamed-of scope of German genius.⁵ The "Messiah" is acclaimed as great a hero as Achilles and Ulysses;⁶ the poem is called the sixth epic of the world, ranking with Homer, Virgil, Milton, Tasso and Voltaire.⁷ With Klopstock the Golden Age of German literature is believed to have dawned;⁸ German poetry has come into her own and is able to vie with the great literatures of other nations.⁹ So chorused the Swiss critics and their followers, and an interest was soon taken in the poet himself. Many ardently desired an opportunity to meet

1) Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 11, 1748; Gessner to Gleim, Jan. 24, 1755; Sulzer to Bodmer, Nov. 19 and Dec. 24, 1774 - Wm. Körte, pp. 95, 228, 416, 423. Herder to Gleim, Feb. 20, 1767 - Lebensbild I, 2, p. 237; see also D. F. Strauss, Vol. 10, pp. 51-59, for the effects of the "Messiah".

2) Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 12, 1747 - Wm. Körte, p. 66.

3) G. F. Meier in "Beurtheiling des Messias", 1749 - Hamel. "Lessings Verhältnis zu Klopstock" - Muncker, p. 25.

4) Sulzer to Bodmer, Jan. 8, 1749 - Körte, p. 95.

5) Kleist to Gleim, June 10, 1748 - Hamel, Sulzer to Bodmer, Jan. 8, 1748 - Körte, p. 103. Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 11, 1748 - Körte, p. 95.

6) Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 11, 1748 - Körte, p. 95.

7) Lange in "Der Gesellige", Feb. 15, 1749 - Hamel.

8) Bodmer to Lange, Easter, 1748 - Körte, p. 84.

9) Wieland to Bodmer, Oct. 29, 1751 - "Lessings Verhältniss zu K." p. 26.

him and form an intimate acquaintance with him; even to become his friend.¹ His greatest admirers began to be concerned about his physical comforts and welfare;² some confessed a fear of his possible death before having completed his great work.³ Indeed, until the king of Denmark so generously provided for him, proposals were constantly made of plans by which Klopstock's merits might gain material recognition.³

Various criticisms appeared during the first year after the publication of the "Messiah", all filled with enthusiastic admiration for the new work; but none showed a true appreciation of it as a piece of poetry, or pointed out its signification for German literature. The merits of Klopstock's poem indeed were recognized by those who possessed a genuine taste for poetry from the very beginning; but his genius had soared high above the minds of most readers and critics, and a genuine conception of his originality and a critical estimate of it did not appear till later. Bodmer championed the cause of the poet and did most to accelerate the celebrity of the poem in Germany. He had published an article in the "Freimutige Nachrichten", in September, 1748, and had inspired some of the articles in other magazines;⁴ now he caused G. F. Meier to write a more complete criticism, "Beurtheilung des Heldengedichts der Messias" (Halle, 1749). This was not an aesthetic appreciation of the poem, but a panegyric which ran riot with criticism and showed little genuine taste for poetry.⁵ It served its purpose, however; a universal interest in the "Messiah" was aroused, and

1) "Lessings Verhältnis zu Klopstock," p. 27.

2) "Lessings Verhältnis zu Klopstock," p. 27. "Klopstock"-Müncker, p. 143.

3) Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 11, 1748; Sulzer to Bodmer, Sept. 27, 1749 and Apr. 21, 1750-Körte, pp. 95, 112, 131.

4) Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 11, 1748-Körte, p. 95.

5) "Klopstock"-Müncker, p. 145.

friends were won for Klopstock throughout Germany. It gave rise to a wealth of literature dealing with the poem, and criticism after criticism appeared, not only in Switzerland but in Germany itself. Inspired by such men as Bodmer, Hagedorn, and Wieland, minor critics like Hess, Lange, Reichel, Paulli and Büschung were unbounded in their enthusiasm; in their wild praise they lost sight of what true criticism means. Haller, Spalding, Ramler, Sulzer and Schröker were more restrained in their great admiration for Klopstock, and did not fear to utter serious comments. They saw the danger of over-praise, and realized that blind enthusiasm would work evils for the poet.¹ Tscharner's and Waser's criticisms of the "Messiah" came closer to being real, impartial, scientific discussions, in which praise did not swallow up blame, than any which appeared before Lessing's articles in 1751.²

In two years after the publication of Meier's criticism (1749), Klopstock was known throughout Germany. His name was honored, respected and praised by the adherents of the Swiss School; it was despised, scorned and condemned by their rivals, the followers of the Leipzig school. The "Messiah" became the battle-ground for the two parties. Up to 1751 Gottsched and his pupils remained quiet and did not make an open attack upon Klopstock; hoping, probably, that the wild fire of enthusiasm would burn itself out. They contented themselves with turning their wrath upon Kleist's "Frühling" (1749), thus striking an indirect blow at Klopstock. But in 1751 Gottsched himself began to attack the new poetry; at first carefully avoiding the mention of names and basing his assault upon

1) Sulzer to Bodmer, Jan. 8, 1749; Sept. 27, 1749-Körte, pp. 103, 111, 120.

2) "Klopstock" - Luncker, p. 151.

principles alone. Satires and parodies of the "Messiah" and of the new poetic language appeared by Triller, Stockhausen and Börner. Johann Heinrich Stuss, in his support of the German Hexamer, and in his recalling the fact that Gottsched himself had, as early as 1730, recommended blank verse, aroused Gottsched's ire. The Leipzig critic published his attack upon Klopstock's meter and the use of Biblical subjects for an epic in January and March, 1752. Rather than a genuine criticism, it was an attempt to ridicule. One of the members of the Leipzig school, Schönaich, was even bold enough to publish his epic, "Hermann oder das befreite Deutschland", in 1751, and hoped to have it rank with Klopstock's poem. Instead he helped thereby to hasten the down-fall of Gottsched's theories. The authors of the "Bremer Beiträge", together with Dommerich and Stuss, replied to the attacks made by the Gottsched party and upheld the new school.

No impartial, individual, genuinely critical examination of Klopstock's work had been made till Lessing's criticism appeared in his monthly, "Das Neueste aus dem Reiche des Witzes", during 1751. Lessing rises above party feeling; he scoffs at Gottsched and his followers, but at the same time he distinguishes Klopstock very carefully from his imitators and recognizes the unreasonableness of his panegyrists. He blames and ridicules them quite as much as ^{he does} the Gottschedians, only with more leniency. He treats Klopstock always with respect and admiration; in him he sees Germany's greatest genius.¹ He admires the "Messiah" as an immortal song by which the German tongue first penetrated into heaven, and which he cannot but envy the author.² By it, he believes, Germany has proved that she

1) Lachmann III, 209.

2) Lachmann I, 194.

possesses creative genius.¹ It is by contrasting with them the high dignity of Klopstock's poetry that he points his condemnation of the poetic labors of the Leipzig school.² Yet in contrast to this general praise, Lessing published a sharp analysis of the sixteen beginning verses of the poem in "Das Neueste" of September, 1751, which was republished and enlarged in the "Litteratur Briefe" in 1753. With the penetrating eye of the critic, he attempts to analyze minutely Klopstock's verse, applying the principles of logic to the language of the heart. Indeed, Lessing undoubtedly went too far in his application of reason to poetry; yet in this he was moved by motives of the utmost sincerity. He differed from Klopstock both in his character and temperament. He was not a born lyric poet; reason occupied a higher place in his life than feeling, and great emotional flights of poetry were utterly beyond him. In the same way the mystic coloring of the "Messiah" did not appeal to him, for his religious experiences and convictions differed entirely from those of the poet of this epic. Lessing was incapable of placing himself in full sympathy with the author, and drawing from the "Messiah" the best that was in it.³

Patzke, Moses Mendelssohn and Nicolai were attracted to Lessing's position above party quarrels. Nicolai's publication, in 1755, of "Briefe über den itzigen Zustand der schönen Wissenschaften in Deutschland," sounded the close of the battle between the Zürich

1) Vossische Zeitung, Mar. 27, 1751, quoted in "Lessings Verhältnis zu Klopstock", 75.

2) Lachmann III, pp. 206, 250, 251.

3) In "Litteratur Briefe", number 19, Lessing takes up the "Messiah" (the first and second volumes had appeared in 1755 with the first ten songs) and discusses the changes the first five songs had undergone since the edition of 1751. Regarding these he says: "Changes and corrections which a poet like Klopstock makes in his works deserve not alone to be noted, but also to be studied most carefully. In them one studies the finest rules of art; for whatever the

and Leipzig schools. After this, Volquarts, Hudemann and Schönaich ("Die ganze Esthetik in einer Fuss oder Neologisches Vorberath", 1754) were unable to have much effect; but the supporters of the "Messiah" lifted their voices in defences and refutations with just as little avail. The quarrel lasted a few years longer with Schönai ch and Reichel as champions for the Gottschedians; but from 1775 on it gradually died out.¹

During all this storm of controversy, in spite of over-praise and blame, Klopstock's poem was read with the warmest admiration by those who possessed a genuine taste for poetry. Klopstock himself, his mind and heart engrossed with sublime and original ideas, engaged in none of the disputes, and suffered friends and enemies to write as they pleased. Among those who relished the beauty and sentiment of the great poem was young Herder. He probably first read the "Messiah" in Trescho's library during the years 1760 to 1762.² Undoubtedly the sacredness of the subject and the religious tone of the work appealed to him as much as its lyrical qualities and the beauty of its poetry. Herder's love for poetry had been aroused in his early youth by constant reading of the Bible and the hymnal, and now in the "Messiah" he found the same religious and musical qualities which these two books possess. Herder's nature was as harmoniously responsive to Klopstock's as Lessing's had been ill-keyed; he was a born poet, even if his innate lyricism never found an adequate expression. His religious experiences, too, were similar to those of Klopstock. If anyone was able to bring to a criticism of the German poet an appreciative and sympathetic touch masters of art consider worthy of attention, that is rule."

1) "Klopstock" - Luncker, 180.

2) Haym I, 14.

which could comprehend fully the greatness of his poetry, it was Herder.

While in the city of Riga, he read the "Messiah" aloud to his friends, and was always happy to receive new manuscript copies of the parts which had not yet appeared in print.¹ Here, also, he wrote his first criticism of the poem, which appeared in 1767. He considers the poem the "most sublime Oriental-German work," and would scrutinize it carefully; he believes "the great piece" has not yet received as thorough an examination as it deserves.² Some had not wished to criticize it, he says, because it was incomplete,³ but Herder has no sympathy with this attitude; he believes he can judge the spirit of a fragment and its poetic quality as well as he can that of a finished product, without necessarily having to foresee the end of the work or being unjust to the author. Nay, the beginning of a product, he affirms, should be judged even more particularly than a completed work, as an aid to the author in his endeavors; by having his first deliverances criticized sincerely, an author can correct his mistakes and avoid future pitfalls. 'In Klopstock's case, if the poet had found a critical friend at the very beginning instead of a trumpeting eulogist (and here Herder undoubtedly has Bodmer in mind), if he had not received such blind applause and had not seen ever more blind imitation of his poem, probably a good deal in his excellent work would be even more excellent than it is.' But such, Herder believes, is always the case.

1) Erinnerungen I, 114. See Lappenberg, 421-Herder to Klopstock, Dec. 5, 1799. Herder writes his friend that he possesses all editions of the "Messiah" but one (one of the editions of 1780?), and this one he requests Klopstock to send him.

2) Herder to Scheffner, 1766. Herder expresses dissatisfaction with the criticism of the "Litteratur Briefe". Lebensbild I, 2, p. 146.

3) See Lessing, "Litteratur Brief" 15. -

Critics are always found in plenty to criticize the attempts of mediocre writers; to pass judgment upon the works of novices and apprentices; but if a genius appear, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter, heaven and earth resound with their mighty cries of adoration. Herder realizes, as others did before him,¹ that the Swiss critics had gone too far in their wild, unrestrained enthusiasm and had not benefited Klopstock in their exaggerated eulogies. Almost twenty years later, in the twentieth of the "Theologische Briefe" (1780-85), he expresses his disgust for the "Klopstockianer." He says, Klopstock's disciples demand that their master should only be looked upon with awe; should only be marvelled at; but this is hard work for him, "even harder than sawing closely-grained timber with one's head erect and eternally gazing upward". One of the poet's disciples had said that there had been two great days for the salvation of the world, one on which it had been delivered through Christ, and one on which it had been sung about by Klopstock. A second added the crown of thorns which both Christ and Klopstock had worn for the same cause (both suffered for humanity). But Herder would not put his hand upon this wreath, nor add to the laurels, which the poet already wears. Of what use is it to compare Klopstock's poem with history, Herder says; to compare the poet with the Evangelists, since one of his pupils said Klopstock has improved the Evangelists and Christ himself.²

Herder presents his first criticism of the "Messiah" in the form of a dialogue between a Jewish rabbi and a Christian; one, the representative of the Old Testament religion, of Oriental tra-

1) Körte, 120-Sulzer to Bodmer, (1749).

2) Suphan X, 228, (1780-85).

ditions and imagination; the other, the representative of the newer religion, of European history and literature. In these two personages Herder represents Klopstock's three sources, the Bible, Homer and Milton. He emphasizes the fact that the poet of the "Messiah" has succeeded in composing an epic without the use of Greek mythology; insofar he has had the courage and power to break away from the classical model of all epics; he has struck out a new path in the composition of the epic, and has thus passed beyond the great Milton. Klopstock has composed an original work in spite of certain Miltonic features; he shows his great genius in having been able to produce a poem, an epic, and a Christian epic out of a short historical account. But has he succeeded in producing a really true national poem? Herder strikes the keynote of his criticism, and at the same time the one great fault of the "Messiah", in the sentence, "Everything, everything is beautiful in parts in Klopstock, very beautiful, only in the whole there is lacking the real epic spirit." "The poem lacks national spirit. If it was intended to be a Biblical epic, an epic of the Orient, Klopstock should have made more use of Biblical history; he should have introduced some features of the Old Testament. The scene of his epic is not really Jewish; the whole work should breath more of the national spirit and temper of the Jews. Klopstock should have concerned himself more with the national opinions of the Jews, the poetic import of the Old Testament, and with the taste of those times. The "Messiah" is not a Biblical epic; it is not a full, objective expression of the national life of the times of Christ. If Klopstock intended his poem to be a song of the origin of the Christian religion, he would have needed to emphasize the foundation of the Church with all its

vicissitudes; he would have had to bear in mind the historical events which took place at that time. The poem lacks historical background.

'Nor has Klopstock succeeded,' affirms Herder, 'in making his hero the real subject of a tragic epic. His crucifixion is not sufficiently motivated. The Messiah possesses too much of the sublime, prophetic spirit and does not appear human enough; he does not accomplish enough through the ordinary course of human strife and endeavor. If he had wandered about in all the splendor which Klopstock gives him, he could not have aroused the bitter hatred of his enemies. Inasmuch as whatever Jesus has done to stir up their hatred is related and is not a natural result of something we see him do - we have effect without cause. There is too much frame-work, and too little structure; too much is related and too little acted out. As creator of his own work, Klopstock should have made the Messiah more vividly real; in failing to do this he has fallen short of the Bible, for the Biblical Messiah is more human. Klopstock depicts him either as superhuman, or with a gentle, yielding heart, one which speaks and suffers but does not act. Unless one had read the Gospels first, a perusal of the poem would leave one wholly ignorant of the genuine grandeur of Christ. The prophets, too, Klopstock should not have represented as gentle, loving youths, but he should have given them human weaknesses and at the same time have shown through their actions the possibility for future greatness in them as pillars of the Church.'

'In presenting superhuman beings,' continues Herder, 'Klopstock again fails to make them live, active beings with human qualities. The angels are not made an integral part of the poem; they are machines which their poetic creator does not know how to use.'

They possess little of the greatness (die Höhe) of those in the Old Testament; Klopstock forgets the external in his emphasis upon the internal. The poet's devils also lack the really human element; they are pure spirits whose malicious deeds against a God, whom they know too well, and against a Messiah, whom they know too little, are not fully motivated. They act out of a principle of envy, rather than from an inner impulse. Everything for which the poet uses the devils he could have developed out of the human soul. The devil ought to be more a devil of this world, the lord of the elements, with power over death and misfortune; he would then be a worthy, adversary for Jesus to overthrow in the end.'

'But the beauties of the poem,' Herder is convinced, 'far outshine the faults and even cause them to disappear. When one reads the work one very rarely finds anything to criticize adversely; one enjoys it; one enters intensely into its essence and meaning. The poet is best in the subjective, lyrical parts,' where he can exercise the wonderful powers of his genius to the greatest advantage. 'Nowhere is Klopstock greater than when he, as one who knows the human heart, succeeds in bringing up out of the depths of the soul a storm of thoughts and emotions and permits this storm "to roar up to heaven"; when he stirs up an eddy of doubts, griefs and fears, as in his Philo, his despairing Ischariot, his Peter, and especially in that great creation of his imagination, Abbadona.. In the tender scenes one always sees Klopstock describing his own heart - in Benoni and Lazarus, in Cidli and Maria, in Portia, Mirjam and Debora'.

'Klopstock often emphasizes the sublime and the moral,' says Herder, 'at the expense of the epic; insofar he is the son of

his time.' He has, therefore, not succeeded in writing a true epic; his poem is not an impersonal expression of rational life and spirit; a natural product of the consciousness of a whole people. But the greatness of his work Herder recognizes even as early as 1767 to lie in that very personal and human element which Klopstock's genius breathed into it. It is the thought and the spirit lying back of the form which the critic feels makes the "Messiah" a real masterpiece; and when it is completed "perfection and beauty itself will have been born."¹ The effect of the great poem upon the people of Germany, both high and low, educated and ignorant, proves the truth of Herder's criticism.

What Herder puts into the mouths of the Christian and the Jew, he writes again to Caroline, in 1770. He is re-reading the "Messiah" and enjoys the delicate lyrical qualities of the poem, but misses the human activity, the live action and character which makes the real epic poet.²

Herder opposes Lessing's and Winckelmann's exaggerated enthusiasm for all that is Greek. Classicism and humanity, were not one and indivisible for him, but humanity was always the broader and its spirit was not limited to any one age.³ He was loath to consider Homer a standard poet of all times and all peoples; on the contrary, he would judge him according to his nature and his age.⁴ Hence he despised the erection of immutably accepted models for the works of art of all time and all people; he despised imitation. He is far from seeking Homer, as the great epic poet, reflected in Klopstock's

1) Suphan I, 275ff., (1767).

2) Lebensbild III, 1, p.138.

3) Suphan I. Kritisches Wäldchen.

4) Suphan I. Kritisches Wäldchen; IV, 423, (1769).

work, for Klopstock, he says, must be appreciated as a modern poet and not as a Greek.¹ Klopstock is a religious poet, and whatever moves his readers is truth; human and Biblical truth, coming from his own experiences, and that will remain immortal.² Klopstock sang his "immortal song" in the spirit of the religion of his time, according to his thoughts and the impressions of his heart;³ he sang as he felt, and presented the visions his eye saw.⁴ The "Messiah" is a production of Klopstock's own self. He must be read with a full understanding of his nature, his culture, his ideas; he who would grasp him most fully must be one heart, one soul with the poet, stepping into his place and seeing and feeling with him. ^{epic}
 He who cannot do this will think the Talmudic, or Arabian, or see other elements in it; he will see only one particular thing; will not be able to get beyond his own mental horizon and his own narrow world.⁵

Herder thinks of Homer and proposes the question whether Klopstock intended to be a German Homer. According to his essay on sacred poetry the poet seems to think more of Virgil; and he is rather more Virgilian than Homeric. Perhaps he, as a sacred Virgil, sings of the Orient, and perhaps it is just this Virgilian element which charms us most in his poem. But Homer! When Herder reads the table of contents of the songs he thinks of the element of the marvelous in them which relates them to Homer; when he reads the synopses of the chapters he still is reminded of the rhapsodist; but when he reads the poem itself he no longer thinks of the Greek

1) Suphan III, 233, (1769).

2) Nachlass II, 205. Herder to Lavater, Nov. 3, 1780.

3) Suphan III, 233, (1769).

4) Suphan IX, 499, (1776).

5) Suphan III, 233, (1769).

poet. The great wealth of words, of beautiful language, of description, of figures of speech, carries him away, so that he finds no temptation to seek the ancient singer in him, - 'omer, who was poor in words and rich in action; who did not describe his ideas, but clothed them about with live bodies which beam forth with the light of dawn. Homer was objective; Klopstock is subjective. But perhaps it is the highest honor for the German poet not to have made use of a single Homeric picture; perhaps it is more conformable to his time, that he paints his pictures so that they enter into one's soul, just as the sentient Greeks enjoyed their sentient Homer; perhaps the moral element in Klopstock is greater than all the beautiful sentience in Homer; perhaps his great talent in depicting the human soul is worth more than everything contained in the Greek singer.' Herder is hereupon moved to quote from the "Litteratur Briefe": "Homer was understood just as little by all the Greeks as Klopstock by all the Germans. The genuine critics of poetry are at all times and in all lands as rare as the poets themselves have been!"¹

In 1769 Herder compares Milton and Klopstock with the ancients. 'In wisdom, might, majesty, in everything great and at the same time incomprehensible in the divinity, the poets of the Orient are a rich, inexhaustible source. In such pictures a Silius Italicus, Ovid, Virgil and Claudian compared with a Job, Moses, Jesaias and David are like a drop of water compared with the ocean; and it is a pity to lick a drop when a chasm of greatness, sublimity and majesty is before us. Only a critical soul, devoid of emotion, would place Milton and Klopstock behind a Silius Italicus and

1) Suphan I, 296, (1767).

Claudian; would hold up the purple patches of an Ovid and Silius as rarities, as precious models before the spiritual poets of the Christian religion; and would not see the sunny sea of majesty, the rain-bow of splendid colors, in which the sacred books and their great imitators had painted the omnipotence and power of God.

Klopstock has surpassed Silius Italicus in his reflection of Oriental majesty.¹ Many years later, in 1796, Herder again compares Milton and Klopstock. He says, one is accustomed to call Klopstock the German Milton, but he wishes that they were never mentioned together, and even that the German poet had never known the English bard. 'Both poets wrote sacred poems, but their muses are different. They are like Moses and Christ; like the Old and the New Testament. Milton's poem is a reflective structure resting on old pillars; Klopstock's poem is a magic picture which has its beginning in Gethsemane, and in the most delicate human emotions and scenes hovers out over earth and heaven. Milton's muse is as masculine as his iambic verse; Klopstock's muse is a more delicate one, whose elegies and hymns stream through our whole soul, its single objective.'² Milton's poem is probably a truer epic, if one takes the Greek epic as a model, but this is only a question of form. Considering what true poetry is and what its effect on the human soul should be, Herder places the German poem above Milton's "Paradise Lost".

Herder does not agree with Klotz that the unholy should not be blended with the holy; for in that case the heathen characters in the "Messiah" would have to be eliminated. The scenes of

1) Suphan III, 248, (1769).

2) Suphan XVIII, 118, (1796).

the prayer of the heathen woman, Fortia, ("Messiah", Book Six), and the account of her dream of Socrates move Herder very much; he counts them among the most precious in the poem. He is convinced that the hearts of his Christian readers will rarely have reached so high a step in their adoration of Jesus as with this heathen prayer. Herder knows that Fortia's dream "pours itself" into the reader's heart more than many another episode of the "Messiah".¹ Here, as always, Herder seeks and has found the human touch; this is more to him than orthodoxy or dogmatic religion.

In 1773 the last five songs of the "Messiah" appeared, and the same year Herder published a criticism of the whole poem. 'It is a "monument of German poetry and language", full of the purest emotions and an imagination which often approaches inspiration. Klopstock describes the most hidden complex feelings of the human soul, and pours them out into words. Not the least of the merits of the poem is that it is full of religion and song; song like the echo of departed spirits out of ^avalley of innocence and love. The language almost ceases to be language and becomes music (Ton)! a resounding of golden strings, which sounds forth religion.'² It is the subjective, the personal, the lyrical quality of the poem which Herder praises; the expression of the poet's soul, - and consequently the "Messiah" is not a national epic like Homer and Ossian. Klopstock does not stand aside, leave out his personal feelings and give an objective, plastic, picture of national life and spirit. 'Klopstock's soul soared too high above the earth into realms beyond human ken; his hero is not national like Homer's Achilles and

1) Suphan III, 244, (1769).

2) Compare Suphan X, 229, (1780-85).

Ossian's Fingal. The German nation has not yet reached that point in its development in religion and general human sympathies to embrace such a work, great for all time and place, and to look upon it as its most precious possession. In its plan the poem is more a work of youth than of manhood; according to its first outline more an emulation of Milton than an immediate revelation. Christ, especially regarding his non-epic character, is more a Christ of the Halle school than the great Christ of religion. The last portion of the poem does not compare favorably with the first; the poet has grown older and despite his endeavor to remain true to his early simplicity his work has become a more conscious product. Time has overtaken the poet; the German character and ideas have changed in the twenty-five years which passed since the first appearance of the "messiah". The views of religion have changed; and neither the most orthodox nor the most pious reader would be satisfied with the poem. The times demand "a muse of more masculine, or firmer and more philosophical form."¹ "The worthiest poem of Germany" is not a national poem, a "Volksgedicht", like Homer and Ariosto. It is the most beautiful marionette of the world, of which whatever regards Biblical history and true folk lore (Volksglaube) is but the wooden stick which the poet could not conceal carefully enough, as if he were ashamed of it. The diction and meter are entirely Klopstock's own; that is, poetic, bold, delicate, learned and classic; never, however, or only rarely, language and song for the people, no matter how high the people might climb in culture.²

1) Suphan V, 258ff, (1773). In "Theologische Briefe", XIY, Herder condemns the use of Biblical history for epic treatment. (1780-85).

2) Suphan VIII, 430, (1788).

In his criticism of the "Messiah" and the epic as a piece of literature, Herder succeeds in showing the absurdity of an attempt by anyone, at this time and age, to write a genuine epic poem. From 1771 on Herder believes firmly in the ballad origin of the Homeric epics,¹ a conception which had occupied his attention before. The epic must spring spontaneously out of the heart of the nation; it must be a natural expression of national life and spirit; must be of popular origin, "volkstümlich". The truth of Herder's idea was proved by the unsuccessful attempts made at writing epics after the appearance of the "Messiah".² Even Schiller attempted to write an epic in his youth; in "Wilhelm Tell" he had a most fitting subject for epic treatment, but he made a drama of it. Goethe, the born epic poet, attempted an epic but gave it up; his successful epic, "Hermann und Dorothea", is not a national poem but a village idyll. Herder struck a deathblow to the old idea that an epic, a national poem could be produced by the conscious effort of an individual. Klopstock had aimed too high; he had left the earth and gone above the clouds into unknown realms, w^hither few of his contemporaries could follow. At the same time it must be recognized that by choosing the most exalted subject, he had hoped to reach the highest goal.

One of Klopstock's greatest admirers and interpreters, the poet Schubart, said of him: "Klopstock is a great man, and in order thoroughly to understand and to appreciate him one must

1) Haym II, 601.

2) Epics were written by Bodmer, Schönaich, Lieland, J. E. Schlegel, Kleist, Oest, Kaumann, Gessner, Zacharid, Uz, Moser, Hess, Lenz, Lavater, J.F., von Leyen (1800), Rommenberg (1806-07), Fyrner (as late as the second and third decades of the 19th century.)

oneself possess the disposition to greatness." He may say that no other critic of the "Messiah" possessed this appreciation of greatness as did Herder. While Lessing criticized the "Messiah" chiefly from the point of view of formal aesthetics, Herder, in addition to this, divined the spirit of Klopstock's poetry in the creation of a new ideal of man, based upon the belief in the innate greatness of the human soul. It is not difficult to trace the influence of this ideal in the subsequent development of German literature, for all of its great leaders, Herder as well as Goethe and Schiller, felt the spell of the inspiring power of Klopstock's world of ideas in their youth. And it is because Herder recognized the full significance of the "Messiah" for the development of German culture that, shortly before his death, he summed up his final opinion of this work in the words: "Klopstock wrote the first classical book of the German language since Luther's translation of the Bible."¹

1) *Adrastea* (1803).

PART I

Chapter 5

Herder and Klopstock's Lyrical Poetry

Poetry always remained one of Herder's chief interests in life; his love for it had been awakened, as we know, in his early youth, when under his father's instruction he learned to read the Scriptures and the hymnal. Whenever Herder's own warm lyrical nature was deeply moved, even from the very first years spent in Mohrungen, it gave utterance to its feelings in poetry. We can imagine with what avidity, endowed as he was with so poetic a nature, young Herder first read the works of prominent German poets - Spitz, Haller, Hagedorn, Gellert, Iz, Lessing, Creuz, Kleist, Simon Dach - which he found in Trescho's library. It is possible that he also became acquainted with some of Klopstock's lyrical poems, as well as with the "Messiah", at this time (1760-62). Be that as it may, without doubt he learned to appreciate fully the genuine lyrical qualities of Klopstock's poetry in Koenigsberg, where he received invaluable instruction and inspiration from Hanann. Klopstock's odes, as is well known, had appeared periodically from 1743 on in various pamphlets, and were circulated largely in manuscript among the poet's friends and admirers. Some of these poems must have found their way to Hanann, for we will remember that as early as 1759 he had recognized Klopstock's lyrical genius, and, in the very year Herder came to Koenigsberg, termed the poet "a great singer of Germany" and "the great restorer of the lyric".

Herder's interest in poetry while a pupil of Hanann becomes evident in the essay on the ode, and in his "Versuch einer Geschichte der Dichtkunst", written before his departure for Riga.

Gerdach affirms that the young critic made use of Blackwell's "Homer" (published in 1755) in writing these two works;¹ but even if Blackwell helped him to formulate his ideas concerning the ode, his moving impulse had undoubtedly come from Hamann, and the realization of true lyrical poetry in Klopstock. Herder's own intense musical nature, too, contributed in no small degree toward determining his conception of poetry.²

In his essay on the ode Herder defines this form of verse as "the first-born child of the emotions, the origin of poetry, and the very germ of its life". The first ode was a child of nature and bore the most intimate relation to man's emotions; it was a "song of the feelings". As such it combined, Herder believes, epic, dramatic and lyrical qualities, and hence became the life and source of all other forms of verse. The mother-tongue of the human race was poetry, and the mother-tongue of the poet is song; hence poetry and music were originally one, and remained so until art separated them. In the most genuine poetry, Herder therefore affirms, music again assumes its original importance, and the true genius can in his artistic creation once more unite poetry and music.³ This is Herder's idea of genuine lyrical verse, - an expression of the poet's own emotions expressed in rhythmic, melodious language.⁴

Klopstock, as Schiller also recognized, was truly a musical poet, and the creator of a new poetic language.⁵ Herder himself, in 1768, says that like Hagedorn, Gerstenberg and Ramler (the last-

1) Deutsche Rundschau, vol. 142, p. 242.

2) Erinnerungen III, 207.

3) Lebensbild I, 3, a, pp. 61-93.

4) Erinnerungen III, 207.

5) Deutsche Rundschau, vol. 142, pp. 239f.

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joined in his cantatas), Klopstock did not write his poetry but sang it.¹ In Klopstock Herder found a poet who combined music and language, and whose work consequently approached the merits of original poetry. Thus we can understand why he later, in Riga, chose Klopstock's free meter in his translation of some parts of Ossian.² While Herder was in the Baltic city he and Hamann kept their mutual interest in Klopstock alive through correspondence, and notified each other of the discovery of new odes.³

Herder's first estimate of Klopstock's lyrical powers appeared, in scattered remarks, in the "Fragmente" of 1767 and 1768. In this criticism he keeps constantly before us his conception of lyrical poetry, - the simple, natural expression of the human emotions, unhampered by classical rule and convention, in which words, thought and feeling become a perfect unit in harmonious rhythm. He says that before Klopstock and Ramler appeared the best writer of odes in Germany was Cramer; but that his poetry was often nothing but tinkling rhyme (Geklingel von Reimen).⁴ Most of Klopstock's odes, on the other hand, seem to him to approach the hymn. 'They are soliloquies of the human heart. His "psalm" gives the emotions, in their rapid succession, an unchecked passage; we hear one wave beating upon the next; a final surge goes higher than all its predecessors, and silence ensues; we are lost in meditation, till suddenly

1) Suphan II, 39. Compare XXIII, 569, (1802); XVI, 251, (1793); V, 258, (1773); V, 310, (1771); IX, 327, (1798). Drw. mit Nicolai, 78 - July 2, 1772.

2) Suphan IV, 494 (note). These translations preserved in Volkslieder II, 2, 14, 15, 16.

3) Lebensbild I, 2, p. 5 - Herder to Hamann, Jan. 1765; p. 116 - Hamann to Herder, Feb. 20, 1766. Lebensbild III, 1, p. 102 - Herder to Caroline, Sept. 12, 1770 - Herder speaks of an ode of Klopstock which is still among his papers in Liefland.

4) Suphan I, 169, (1767).

a new succession of ideas intoxicates us with a pleasant confusion of thoughts.¹ Klopstock knows how to penetrate to the innermost recesses of the heart; and many a song is a model in the expression of a calm, devout emotion, especially of the gentler emotions.² Nowhere is the poet more felicitous, Herder believes, than in his reflections upon death.³

The critic feels the individual quality of genius which Klopstock has breathed into his poems, and which makes them at once distinctly modern and yet genuinely poetical. It matters little to him whether or not they adhere to the classical model of the ode. If the reader is not willing that they should be called odes, Herder says, let them remain what they are - lyrical pictures, images of the poet's fancy which find expression in musical language.⁴ Klopstock does not permit his imagination to lose itself in the "labyrinth of mythology" in those poems which sing his emotions and arouse the feelings of the reader.⁴ So, too, Herder finds very little which would recall the classical poet, Horace. The ode dedicated to Frederick of Denmark and placed as a preface to the "Messiah" may seem at the beginning to be an imitation of one of the Latin odes, - however, in his portrayal of a Christian soul the German poet soon enters a world of thoughts and emotions peculiar to Klopstock himself, and trods a path utterly unknown to Horace. In some other poems, as in the "Zürchersee", Herder admits there are to be found excellent Horatian qualities, but the final impression and the

1) Suphan I, 467, (1767).

2) Suphan I, 269, (1767).

3) Suphan I, 209, (1767).

4) Suphan I, 436, (1767).

fundamental tone he maintains to be entirely the contribution of Klopstock's talent.¹ The psalm to the king of Denmark Herder considers a model in the imitation of the unperiodic melody of the Hebrew poets; he finds the Hebrew discription (Zerstücklung) of language and at the same time the synthesis of images peculiar to the Greek poets; here and there appear little water-falls, yet the whole remains a gentle stream rolling along over smooth stones. This, Herder believes, is probably Klopstock's most precious lyrical poem.² Of the ode, "Frühlingsfeier", he says that, inspired by nature as it is, it will always make a most touching appeal to a sensitive heart, which can respond to the delicate feelings the poem expresses, and which seeks something beside mere word-pictures in a poem, or "non sens" of spiritual emotion.³

We shall find opportunity later to discuss more definitely the nature of Herder's interests and work immediately upon his return to Germany, after an absence of six years. It will suffice to say here that many of his efforts in Strassburg and Bückeburg were being directed toward arousing his countrymen to a recognition of their own talents and a realization of the value of their own culture by awakening a live interest in the past achievements of their race. Every subject that could lend him or his people support in this wonderful patriotic movement, Herder studied zealously. He buried himself in the literature of the Orient; and he contributed his share as well toward the rediscovery of the language and literature of the North and the awakening of the spirit of linguistic

1) Suphan I, 467, (1767).

2) Suphan I, 271, (1767).

3) Suphan I, 485, (1767).

and historical research.¹ But what is most significant, Herder's interest in Klopstock, and particularly in Klopstock's odes, becomes more vital than ever before. We will recall how he had longed for Klopstock's "Messiah", "Lieder", and "Hermannsschlacht" on board ship upon leaving Riga; how he had craved these same works in Nantes to fill the void in his heart caused by his personal contact and acquaintance with the French people, their literature and culture. Now in Strassburg we find him most diligently collecting the odes; he writes from Hamburg to Zürich, from one end of Germany to the other for them.² He reads the odes in connection with the poems of the old German Minnesingers;³ in both he feels the breath of that viril Germanic spirit which he hopes to reawaken in the hearts of his countrymen, proof of the fact that this spirit is still alive, needing only to be awakened from its dormancy.

But besides this larger critical interest, Herder also finds a personal satisfaction in reading Klopstock's odes. In Caroline Flachsland he had found his own "Cidli", and consequently the feelings of love and friendship which Klopstock had expressed so passionately in his poetry appeal to Herder as a reecho of his own emotions. He writes to his sweetheart, August 30, 1770: "Since nothing interests me now which appeals alone to reason, you can judge how glad I was when I found some odes of Klopstock which are new to me and express the fullest emotions."⁴ We can see how sympathetic Herder's own nature was with that of Klopstock in another letter written to Caroline, in which he tells us that while reading one of the odes ("Als ich unter den Menschen noch war") a feeling of

1) Lebensbild III, 1, p.236 - Herder to Caroline, Oct.28, 1770; p. 263 - to Hartknoch, Nov. 21, 1770.

2) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 157. To Caroline, September, 1770.

3) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 89. To Caroline, Sept. 9, 1770.

4) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 78. Compare p. 94 - Sept. 9, 1770.

re iniscence (eine Erinnerung) came over him - like certain emotions which pass like lightning through the soul - as if he himself years before, had expressed those very feelings in that very poem for no one but Caroline.¹ The lovers address each other, too, as "Petrarca" and "Laura", the poetic names used by Klopstock.²

Herder recognizes also the ethical and moral value of the odes, for he writes to Caroline: "however much I detest an erudite woman, it seems beautiful to me that a tender soul like yours should be able to realize such ennobling emotions."³ Most of the letters Herder wrote to Caroline from Strassburg are full of references to the odes.⁴ He sends her all the new poems he can find, and when he expresses the intention of making a collection of some few German poems which seem to him to be "the true expression of emotion and the outpouring of a soul", proposes to include in it some of Gerstenberg's "Tändeleien", but especially Klopstock's lyrical poems.⁵ With this in view he bids Caroline copy some of the latter out of the collection of "Bremer Beiträge" which is available to her; he intends to put them into a song-book (Gesangbuch), "and how glad I should be to secure some which I have not yet seen".⁶ Caroline replies to Herder's request,⁷ but it seems this collection never came to pass.⁸

It appears that as early as 1752 Klopstock was collecting his odes for the purpose of publishing an edition of them. At any rate, he writes to Gleim, February 19th, 1759: "I beg you to send me

1) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 89. To Caroline, Sept. 9, 1770.

2) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 127. To Caroline, Sept. 9, 1770.

3) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 102. To Caroline, Sept. 12, 1770.

4) Lebensbild III, 1, pp. 59, 101, 127, 138, 167, 169, 170, 191, 204, 241, 276.

5) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 78. To Caroline, Aug. 30, 1770.

6) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 94. To Caroline, Sept. 9, 1770.

7) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 151. To Caroline, Sept. 22, 1770.

8) Haym I, 420.

the ode "An die Freunde" ("Winfolf"). I am engaged in looking over my odes and bringing them into shape".¹ Again in 1767, he writes to this same friend that he may expect the odes soon "either in print or in manuscript".² Still, we know that the poet always considered his odes of minor importance compared with the "Ossian", and his hope of seeing them published collectively evidently never reached a high pitch of concern. The poems (forty-seven in number), cleaned from all sources, finally made their first appearance in book-form, without Klopstock's knowledge,⁴ among that cultured circle of the poet's admirers in Darmstadt whom Goethe often called "the Darmstadt communion of saints".⁵ The members of this circle (Caroline Flachsland was among them) were animated by the spirit of human kindness and love which glowed in Klopstock's poetry, and remind one of that other group of admirers in Zürich who, feeling the influence of Klopstock's wonderful personality, all but worshipped him during his visit there in 1750. In Darmstadt the nobility itself recognized the priceless value of Klopstock's poetry, for the first printed edition was made by command of Countess Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt. It appeared in the spring of 1771 with the title: "Klopstocks Oden und Elegien. Vier und dreyssigmal gedruckt. Für Ihr Hochfürstliche Durchlaucht die Frau Landgräfin von Darmstadt. Vignette. Darmstadt, 1771."⁶

1) Archiv für Litt. Gesch. Vol. XII, 251.
 2) Klopstock X, 431. Klopstock to Gleim, Dec. 19, 1767.
 3) Weimar. Jahrbuch IV, 124. Klopstock to Gleim, Sept. 27, 1748.
 4) Archiv für Litt. Gesch. Vol. III, 396.
 5) Lyon, 21.
 6) Quellen und Forschungen, Vol. XXIX, 32ff.
 Two other editions appeared later in 1771: "F.G.Klopstocks kleine poetische und prosaische Werke. Chr.Fr. D. Schubart. Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1771"; and another by Bode in Hamburg which Klopstock himself directed.



who were to receive copies, upon reading the collection expressed his appreciation in the following poem:

Zu einer Sammlung Klopstock'scher Oden und Elegien

1771

Ja, samlet Sie, die Blatter! die zerissen,
zerstreuten Maisen Deutschlands! Suse Elster
soll sie denn gar der Lord verweint?

Versamlet sie! Den Bard' an tiefen Sunde
soll hier auf Lattenhöhn, auf Traubenbergen
sein Kranz der Monnelieder blühn!

Denn seine Monnelieder sind sie! Blumen
der ersten Frühlingsseele! sind die Bräute
der Torgentröthefantasie

von Klopstocks Leben! Ach, der Bardejüngling
schuf damals noch sein Schäfer-Eden! schuf es
Weltüber! denn auf dieser Welt,

wo ists? Rief Fanny, die er noch nicht kannte,
und Fanny, die er nie, nie kennen sollte,
sang seine Meta! Istu selbst

ward ihm ja Jugendtraum nur! und in Anbruch
des Traums, in Ahndungs-, in Prophetenfarben
da wars! da taucht' er seinen Kiel,

und schuf sich Rosenhimmel! Spricht mit Engeln
als Brüdern! mit dem Gott, der Engel Vater
als Liebezartes jüngstes Kind,

das ihm im Schoose lacht. Lacht Himmel um sich,
und wo der Himmel lacht wird, o da dämmern
im Thränen neues Himmelreich.

Auf klären sie die Blick' ihm, dass er Zeiten
weissagt, die kommen - weil sie kommen sollen!
und laben ihn mit Ahndungstraum,

mit Wiedersehn, mit Auferstehungsfreuden,
mit Dornutarnen, mit der Krone Dämmerung,
die hier ihm ach! ein Dornkranz ward!

Eilt denn in Freude-Chor hin, dichtet Freunde
sich hin ins Leben; sollen's jetzt ihm werden,
und haucht sie mit Begeisterung

der Täuschungstund' an. Ach! der Bardejüngling
sah Menschen noch als Bilder! holde Schatten
des Teppichs! Liebetrunkner Blick,

Du bist so leichtest, und die inner
so Wandelst du! - Keine Beschreibung
ist Russenwerk, ist Pö lehr,

Ist schöne Farb' und Gliederwohlklang. Immen
in Eingeweiden der Natur, in Mädern
des Kreiselaufs, wo ist sie da

die süsse Täuschung? Wo die Orgelrosen
der Wangen und der schöne Puls des Lusens
und aller Reize Zaubernacht? -

Doch weg, Zergliederstahl! der Menschheitmörder,
der Mörder aller Reiz' und Lebensfreuden,
weg in des kalten Fodes Hand!

Licht in die Hand des Jünglings. Gent, ihr Freunde
der Unschuldslieb' und Wonn' und ihrer Luse
und ihres Thränenlustgesangs,

Gehet, Freunde Klopstocks! und der schönste Segen
der Menschheit segn' euch, "seid, o Süßgetäuscht
von Lied' und Wonn' und Lebenszeit!"

Ihr sollt mit Klopstock weinen! Eure Thräne
aus schönen Herzen, soll ihn schöner schlücken
als harter Leeresporlen Kranz!

Ihr sollt mit Klopstock weinen! und in Blumen
des nahen Frühlings hinzerfliessend, fühlen
ihn fühlen, Lebens ganzen Werth!

Ein Freud'-, ein Freundschaftsbeken! zwischen Bergen
der alten guten Katten, an den Gränzen
des trugverarmten Galliens!

sollt euch da stilles Eden schlafien! Reben
des süßen Walnes trunkner Stirn' umschlingen
und Allvergessen, was die Welt,

(Die grosse Sklaven- trug- und Karren-Erde!)
vergessen, was sie wahrlich ist! und schaffen
in Buch und um Euch Eure Welt

Und denn mit Klopstock jauchzen! Eure Fürstin,
von Kön'gen einst und Königinnen Tutter!¹⁾
Heil Euch, dass sie mit Klopstock fühlt!

1) Suphan XXIX, 347ff.

We remember how many years before Herder had first been moved by Klopstock's odes; with what eagerness and zeal he constantly collected them; and how much they meant to him, especially in Strasburg; but here for the first time he is able to read a whole collection of them (almost a half hundred in one volume), and the strength, beauty and truth of their sentiment, thus composed into one wonderful message, is so moving that he is forced to find relief for his feelings in poetry. All the feelings of happiness, comfort and elevation experienced at odd moments for many years by the reading of individual odes are here gathered together in one overwhelming emotion of joy and thanksgiving.

The significance of this collection seems to be to him that these "tattered and scattered orphans of Germany" have been brought together in safe keeping, - orphans because they belong to all of Germany; they are the offspring of the heart of the German nation as it beats in the genius of Klopstock. These sweet blossoms he predicts, shall thrive and flourish in their new home and do honor to their creator who tarries in the North. They are songs of the spring-time of the poet's life, colored by the wonderful dawn of his youthful phantasy. Herder recognizes fully the marvellous genius of the young bard in creating an ideal world of love and beauty to satisfy the yearnings of his overflowing heart; his genius even soars up into the very heavens themselves, in its efforts to realize the exalted dream of the poet. The young writer's unselfish humanity makes him long for communion with his fellow-men, and his fancy again aims to satisfy his cravings by conjuring up an ideal world of friendship filled with companions who completely fulfill the demands of his ideal visions. Here Herder's critical mind

gets the better of his heart, and would reflect for a moment upon the usefulness of this poetic world of the imagination; but he shakes off the temptation to use this "dissecting-knife, - this murderer of humanity, and of all life's charm and joy." There comes back to him in all its sharpness the feeling of loneliness which he had experienced in France, and the barren impression which French culture and art, dominated by reason and artificiality, had made upon him; and the violent contrast to all this found in Klopstock's poetry, full of love and happiness, again makes him realize fully what an important rôle this poetry should play among his countrymen, helping to recreate a new life in some measure comparable to the ideals expressed in Klopstock's verse. On the border-land of Gaul ("des Trugverarmten Galliens"); and in an earlier rendering, "dos armen Blende-galliens"), he asserts, which has lost all power of imagination and all realization of the importance of the creative phantasy for real life, Klopstock's admirers shall, by assimilating the spirit of this poet's work, learn to appreciate the full worth of life. This ideal world created by the poet's fancy will stir them to nobler efforts to make their world of actuality better and happier.¹

The same year (1771) Herder wrote a second poem on

- 1) Suphan XXIX, 347ff. Concerning this poem Herder writes to Merk, in April, 1771: "I have poured forth my feelings upon the first perusals of these favorite odes of Klopstock's youth (but in accordance with my present misanthropic views) into a poem, which I have sent to your neighbor as a word of gratitude for the honor of being one of your chosen thirty-four" - Lebensbild III, 1, p. 366. To Caroline he writes: "I am very sorry I enclosed the "weinerliche" poem on Klopstock's odes; it was the first 'Hufwallung'" ... Lebensbild III, 1, 355. Herder recognizes the literary deficiencies of the poem, and his critical mind resents somewhat the exuberance of the feelings expressed in it.
- 2) Suphan XXIV, 350. See Nachlass III, 141. To Caroline, October-November, 1771.

Klopstock's lyrical poetry.¹ In it he praises particularly the musical quality of the verse, which varies with the spirit of the individual odes; thus the religious poems and those inspired by nature each possess a melody peculiar to themselves. He considers most beautiful the love poems; they are like a harp of morning sun-beams boding forth the heavens in music. He notes how the poet, upon the death of his beloved Cidli, found comfort for his sorrow in singing the praises of his fatherland - a fatherland, however, made more perfect than the real Germany by the idealizing power of imagination which conjures up Hermann's bards. Nevertheless, he trusts that Klopstock will long continue to sing of this visionary country, for he realizes the power of the ideal to make the real more perfect. Just as in the other poem he hopes the circle of friends in Darmstadt will create a better and happier world for themselves by becoming imbued with the spirit of Klopstock's poems on friendship and love, so here, he believes, the patriotic odes will help the whole nation attain a more ideal state.

In his letters to Caroline during 1771 (the year in which the three different editions appeared) and 1772, Herder refers again and again to the odes, evidently rereading them frequently.² "An die Freunde" would seem to be his favorite; he considers it more Pindaric than any ode since Pindar himself,³ - the outpouring of the fullest heart and the most beautiful soul.⁴ Upon receiving an edition of the poems (most probably one of the two different volumes

1) Suphan III, 350. See Nachlass III, 141. To Caroline, October-November, 1771.

2) For references to the odes see letters to Caroline (1771): - Lebensbild III, 1, pp.308,338,350; Nachlass III, pp.53,81,93,11,125; (1772) Nachlass III,344;(1773) Nachlass III,416,458. To Merk(1771) Lebensbild III,1,p.325. To Nicolai (1772)-Drw.mit Nicolai, 78.

3) Lebensbild III, 1, p.366. To Merk, April, 1771.

4) Lebensbild III, 1, p.355. To Caroline, 1771.

published in the fall of 1771) he writes to Caroline, December 1st, 1771: "I have received a copy of Klopstock's odes, and kept it for myself only three days so that you might enjoy it the sooner. It is heavenly, and I am completely carried away by it.... It has no equal. ... Klopstock has had a remarkable effect on me. ..." This shows what an important place the odes had come to occupy in Herder's mental world and what great satisfaction his feelings found in their sentiments.² ¶ But for all his warm praise, Herder was not unmindful of Klopstock's fatal tendency to give his wonderful imagination such free play that it tended to lose itself in abstraction, and thus fall short of the real purpose of poetry, - to stir the reader's emotions by permitting him to follow in the poet's trail. He considers himself highly honored because Herk had compared the duskiness (*Dämmerung*) of his poetry with the same quality in Klopstock; yet he considers his own poetry a combination of thought and feeling, "a mixture of philosophy and emotion". In the outpouring of pure emotion Herder believes Klopstock far superior to himself; still, he says, Klopstock's odes leave but a dusky chord (*Dämmerungs-ton*) of vague, confused (dunkel) sentiments in the reader's soul! "The faint echo of a bell" (*Nachhall der Glocke*)! He believes his own poems leave behind a clearer thought and image (was Kläreres, Funke, Sentenz, Bild, Maxime).³

In 1767 Herder had expressed his feeling of the deficiencies of the "Messiah" in its want of the epic spirit; of action, and

1) Nachlass III, 141. To Caroline, Oct.-Nov., 1771.

2) References to the odes in Caroline's letters to Herder-Dec. 1771, Nachlass III, 141; Nachlass III, 144 (Nov. 1771); p. 195 (Mar. 9, 1772); p. 290 (June 1772).

3) Lebensorbild III, 1, p. 333. To Herk, 1771. Compare Hörte, 401 - Sulzer to Bodmer, Dec. 20, 1771. Klopstock's odes are here considered too "seraphisch".

of any really human element. In 1760 and 1770 he reiterates this even more forcefully,¹ expressing a similar idea in regard to some of Klopstock's love poetry and that of his imitators. These poets, he says, have soared to the very gates of the Oriental heavens; to the altars of the protecting spirits, and almost to the throne of light in the chorus of heavenly joys. He sounds a note of warning to the Klopstock school of poets by reminding them that if they would follow the simplicity and naturalness of the Scotch love-songs, they must put less play-work (*Spielwerk*) into their love elegies.² Herder realizes that the love found in Klopstock's and Gessner's poetry is characteristic of that eighteenth century period when the pendulum had swung its farthest from intellectualism to emotionalism. He feels the sharp contrast between this love, and that described in the old Scotch songs, full as the latter are of a tenderness and nobility which, in taking complete hold of us, yet makes us nothing less than human. He would have his Eden rather an old Celtic hut on a rugged mountain among frost and storm and fog than the sweetest Eden which Klopstock and Gessner could paint in the Orient.³

Herder published a criticism of Klopstock's odes in 1771. He emphasizes above all else their marvelous lyrical quality, especially in those youthful poems in which Klopstock pours forth his whole heart and soul. This universal human spirit he finds breathed through all the poems, but with a different expression in each. Not only do the spirit and sentiment differ, but the individuality of each is emphasized by a difference in meter and rhythm; even in each

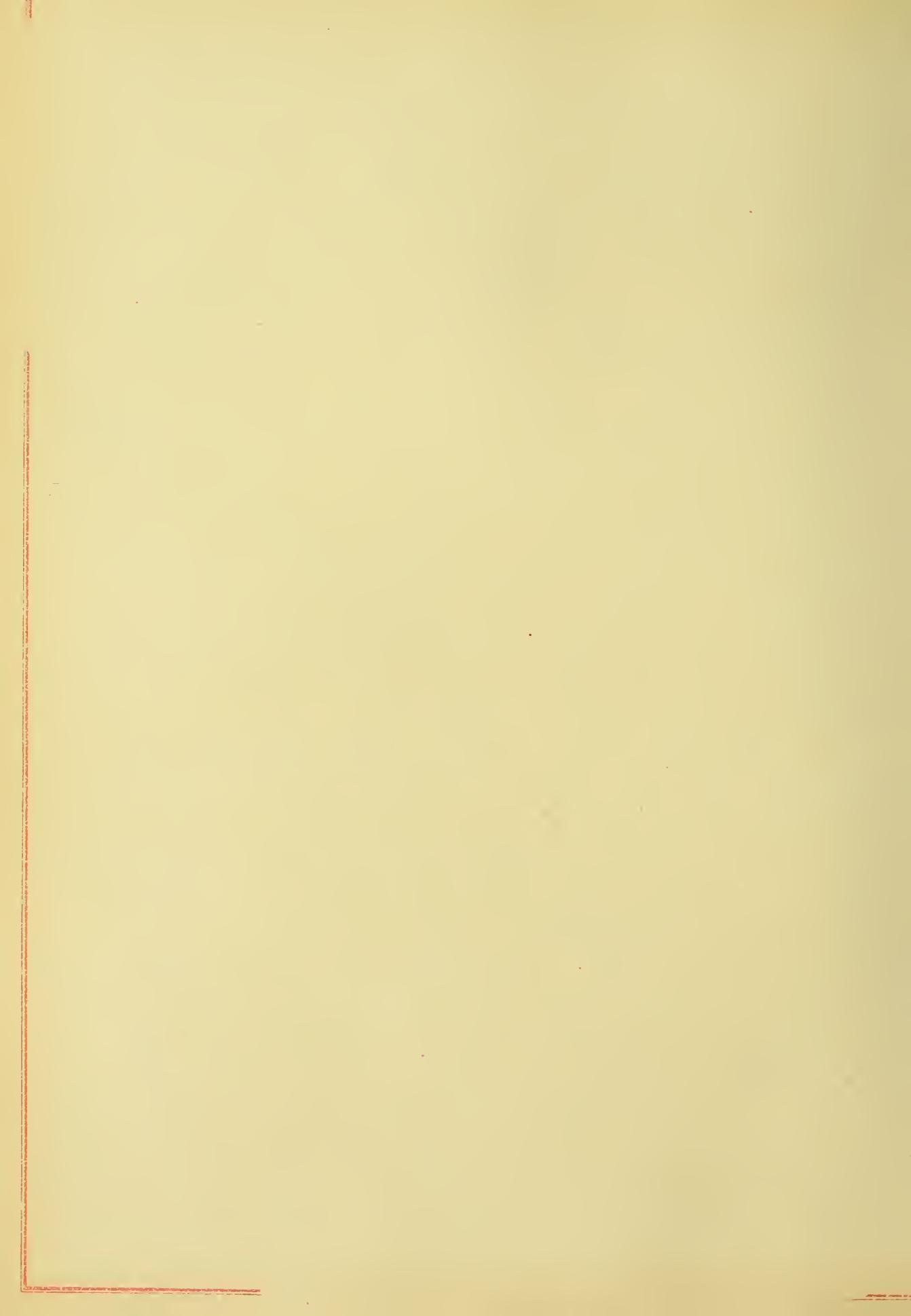
1) *Lebensbild* III, 1, p. 138. Herder to Caroline, Sept. 20, 1770.

2) Suphan III, 35, (1769).

3) *Lebensbild* III, 1, p. 237. To Caroline, Oct. 28, 1770.

word, and each oh! and ah! Here human nature reveals itself in all of its various moods. The ode, "Zürchersee", presents a really beautiful description of the power of nature and spring-time to create joy and happiness in the human heart. "An Cäsar" presents a most faithful picture of the parting of friends. The wavering of the emotions between the deep grief at the thought of separation and the bright hope of a future meeting which the human heart experiences at bidding farewell to a loved one, is most truthfully described in the ode, "An Fanny". In some of the poems addressed to God Herder misses the genuinely lyrical qualities common to the other poems; he considers these "mere tirades of fantasy". Others Herder considers very artistic treatments of themes not suitable for lyrical treatment, and hence impossible of consideration as pure lyrics. In all, however, the critic forbears setting a boundary for the poet's fancy; the reader must follow the poet in his flights of imagination, and see things as he saw them.

Klopstock's poetry, affirms Herder, has also a more serious side. Into the "torrent of emotion", into the wonderful visions created by his fancy, the poet weaves great philosophical thought. In "Gesang an den König", "Zürchersee" and "Rheinwein" we have a deep inner philosophy of life; in the odes to Sidli we have a metaphysics of love. In the last book appear a hundred excellent thoughts concerning language, poetry, verse, Northern mythology, the fatherland, and many more subjects. But he who seeks only "pensees", Herder says, neglects the better part of the poet's great soul. The critic cannot apply his usual rule to see if each poem answers the requirements of the classical ode; the poet has travelled a new path, surveyed by himself alone. Hence Herder believes that from Klopstock's best poems the most perfect rules of poetic effect,



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and even a new theory of the ode, could be denied; for his work contains the formulation of many new laws. To be sure, Klopstock has been very successful in those poems in which he made use of classical meter; but he has discovered a new meter, which has enriched prosody. In this single collection of odes, Herder says, the German language and German poetry, yes, the whole German race, have received a most precious gift!¹

In 1783, in "Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie", Herder considers Klopstock the first poet who has brought the Germans to an appreciation of the poetic merits of the Hebrew psalm; the simplest of his own odes are notes from David's harp. In their simplicity and real lyrical quality Herder believes many of the hymns and songs in the "Messiah" far outshine similar productions of the poets of neighboring countries. He calls Klopstock the Assaph of the German people, and hopes the poet's lyrical genius will live after him and produce in his own country a second David.²

Herder's final criticism of Klopstock's lyrical poetry was written upon the publication of a new edition of the odes in 1798. This edition had undergone many changes; the poems were arranged in chronological order, and many appeared in print for the first time. In some of the odes an older rendering had been restored, because "it was the first and best expression of the author's emotions". This collection of odes, Herder believes, presents the history of the emotional experiences of a poet's life-time; they give us "a picture of the inner life of a great soul from the times of youth to the memories of a happy old age". The poetry itself is a treasure of

1) Suphan V, 350, (1771).
2) Suphan XII, 227, (1783)

language and expression; of meter and rhythm, and lyrical description. Thought and emotion become a unit in the cadence of words and melody; thus each poem becomes a pure lyric, - a song. Klopstock's name, either as Harpist and singer ("Siona"), or as prophetess ("Teutone"), appeals to the human heart through the ear; now in soft music, and now in louder tones. In the early poems she utters the language of truth and feeling as a child speaks it.

'The sentiment expressed in every work of art', pursues Herder, 'determines whether it is divine or commonplace; and Klopstock need not be ashamed of the sentiment embodied in anyone of his productions. His earliest songs breathe an ideal youthful love of paradise; in his riper years he sings of deeper things; of friendship, of religion and of wisdom. But even in the later poems he does not blot out entirely the liveliness of his youthful fancy, for the sweet must of the early poems has but taken on a ripened flavor as of old wine, in the later odes. In the latest poems one can detect that the poet is growing old; but they still paint the evening-glow of the poet's soul just as beautifully as the early poems reflect the more vivid morning-dawn.' The reason for this difference Herder seeks in the subject-matter of the later poems, so varied that the poet could not always strike the same lyrical chord, rather than in any decline of the poet's powers. Abstract or moral truths, much less poems dealing with artistic subjects, could not be sung as psalms and dithyrambs.

In the ode, "Hein Vaterland", Herder finds the best presentation of Klopstock's attitude toward his native land. 'In the later poems this ruling sentiment of patriotism speaks more loudly because the times demand it. The poet has not changed in his feeling toward princes, warriors, and conquerors, and the patronage and praise

of nobility. His love for his own people, however, could not shut out from his heart an interest in events which were happening in a neighboring country. His feeling for humanity exceeded his feeling for nationality. Full of hope for the deliverance of a whole people, he wrote the "Etats Généraux" in 1798, - and how any wise and worthy men in Europe did not share this hope with him! But when things took a different course, when madness and horror caused all humanity to shudder with contempt and disgust; when the spirit of conquest broke forth, and the heavens grew black on all sides, then Klopstock pronounced his judgment against it all.'

'The poet's philosophical poems, his words of wisdom, are like flowers in a valley among cedars, cypresses, weeping-willows, and oaks. The poem, "Der Genügsame", proves that the poet's wisdom is not the new philosophy; it is not abstract reasoning, but real life. The poet must always erect his own monument in his work; Klopstock has erected his in the ode, "An Freund und Feind."¹

'Klopstock', concludes Herder, 'brought the ancients nearer than ever before to the Germans, and cultivated in his countrymen a better understanding and a deeper appreciation for the lyrical art of the Greeks. He recreated the German language of poetry and freed it from the fetters of rhyme, so that it became worthy to express the genuinely lyrical nature of the German people; not in unprosodic, declamatory style, but in the meter of the ancients. But Klopstock went further; he created a modern meter, which, together with the new poetic language, has caused the German lyrical poem to become a genuine product of the German nature, worthy to be compared with the classical ode of the Greeks.'² Thus Herder in his criticism and

1) Suphan XV, 327, (1797).

2) Suphan XVII, 172, (1795). Compare Suphan XVIII, 118, (1796)-Comparison of Klopstock and Milton; XXIV, 202, (1803)-Comparison of

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interpretation of Klopstock's poetry helped to awaken among his countrymen an understanding of the lost truly German form of verse, the lyric, so soon to find its greatest master in Goethe.

Klopstock and Ranler.

PART II

Chapter 1

The Conception of the Poet

Klopstock was the first man who succeeded in giving to poetry, after centuries of general decline, a high and noble place in the life of the German nation. His superior genius enabled him to establish his own brilliant position in the literary firmament,¹ and this fact, together with his firm belief in originality as the basis of all genuine art, swept away all false conceptions of artistic production and laid the necessary solid foundation for that great national literature which was to culminate in Goethe and Schiller. More than a hundred years before, to be sure, Opitz, who, like Klopstock, was the "father of a better (literary) taste in Germany",² had emphasized the divine origin of poetry; but his attempts were largely limited to an examination of the proper vehicle in language for verse, and an attempt to establish metrical reforms; and he himself was unable to prove the vitality of his belief in his own work, or to effect among his contemporaries a realization of its truth. Indeed, the idea of the Olympic and inspired nature of poetry is as old as the form itself; it was accepted as an axiom from the time of the ancients. Its real meaning, however, had been entirely forgotten, for it had existed for years as a mere useless phrase. The Swiss critics, Bodmer and Breitinger, were the first to apply it again in the emphasis they placed upon the creative fancy; but this was only theory. It required a genius like Klopstock to prove by a conclusive application to practice the verity of the spontaneous creation of genuine poetry.

1) Günther had failed utterly in his attempt to establish himself as a professional poet.

2) Suphan XVIII, 117.

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Let us consider Klopstock's conception of genius in the years prior to 1762, when Herder went to Koenigsberg. From the very beginning of his career Klopstock has believed in a special gift with which the poet is favored above ordinary men and which is of divine source;¹ he terms it genius,² nature,³ and spirit.⁴ His imagination pictures the genius as having come from another world to consecrate the future poet at birth;⁵ as a guardian spirit which accompanies man throughout life;⁶ or as the soul of a departed mortal which watches over a friend left behind in this world.⁷ Subjectively, he conceives of genius as a mysterious inner consciousness which manifests itself in free creative activity;⁸ in a mystical sense he calls it a voice from nature to which the poet responds.⁹ Thus establishing a direct communication with nature, independent of all conventionality, and thereupon embodying his experiences in a work of art, the poet becomes the creator of an original master-piece in the foot-steps of the great creator of the universe.¹⁰ As early as 1745, in his Latin farewell-address, delivered at Schulpforta, the young poet concedes that poetry is an imitator of nature; but, in striving for beauty and perfection, it

1) "Messiah", I, line 11; II, line 7. The ode, "An Gott", 1748.

2) "Wingolf", song V, 1747. "Fragen", 1752.

3) "Wingolf", song VIII, 1747. In "Fragen", lines 1 to 2, an older version reads: "Veracht' ihn, Leyer, der der Natur Geschenk In sich verkennt - "

4) "Fragen", 1752.

5) "Lehrling der Griechen", 1747.

6) "Messiah", III, lines 93, 202. IV, line 120. "Wingolf", II, 1747. "Salem", 1748. "Die beiden Husen," 1752.

7) "An Bodmer", 1750. "An Young", 1752. "Die Königin Luise", 1752.

8) "An Gott", 1748. In an older version, "Wingolf", I, stanza 2, reads: "Willst Du zu Strophen werden, o Lied, oder

Ununterwürfig, Pindars Gesängen gleich,

Gleich Zeus erhabnem, trunknem Sohne

Frei aus der schaffenden Seele taumeln?" - Quoted by Otto Lyon, 51.

9) "Wingolf", VIII, 1747.

10) "Messiah", I, line 10. "Friedrich der Fünfte", 1750.

presents natural things in a new order, and thus it becomes the creator of a new world.¹

The essential element of all poetry, Klopstock believes, is the power to appeal to the emotions of the reader rather than to his reason. To do this most successfully it must be a full expression of personality; of the poet's own individual experiences, as well as a product of divine genius. The greatest poetry, Herder, combines with this mysterious element the human feelings of the poet; it becomes a vital expression of action, humanity and life. The imagination must therefore not lose itself in abstractions which pass beyond human experience; and if it does dominate any particular passage there must be evident a certain "fire" which can still stir the reader's feelings. The sublime arouses man's whole inner nature, and that divinely attuned soul, which itself is a partaker of the divine, is most affected and is able to transmit its ardor to others. All of our souls are united in a bond of harmony, and when one of them is aroused the others respond; the heart flames up; the whole consciousness expands; the imagination is quickened; thoughts and feelings grow larger and rise to a higher plane. A new harmony of souls is born which raises mankind above the baser things of this world and brings it into closer relation to truth.² Such is the effect of genuine poetry, according to Klopstock's belief as expressed in his works before 1762.

We will recall that it was probably during the two years he spent in Koenigsberg that Herder, through Hamann, learned first to appreciate Klopstock's significance for German literature. In

1) D. F. Strauss, X, 31.

2) "Von der heiligen Poesie", Klopstock X, 225, 231, 237; (1755 and 1760). "Von der Sprache der Poesie", X, 208; (1759-60). "Gedanken über die Natur der Poesie", X, 215; (1759-60).

him he found not merely a great genius, but a true representative of his own country (as opposed to the great genius of another country whose acquaintance he also made at this time), the native flavor in whose work had succeeded in proving that the German race possessed that spirit which could give expression to original and genuine poetry. In Klopstock's works the young critic was able to find expressed the poet's ideas concerning genius, the source and purpose of the truly beautiful, and the fundamental principles of originality in the production of the aesthetic.

In one of Herder's earliest critical works, in the essay on the ode, written in Koenigsberg, he presents his own interpretation of the true artist, - an interpretation which shows a marked similarity to that of Klopstock: He, too, considers genius a vital inner impulse (*Wuth*), which expresses itself in free creative activity.¹ This "fire of the lord"² becomes the source of all forms of poetry,-the ode, the drama and the epic.³ The greatest poet Herder terms a "creator", because he creates his work out of his own heart,⁴ independent of conventionality. He recognizes that if his arrows are to carry home to the heart of the reader, the poet must combine with his soaring genius the human element, his own individual experiences.⁵ For Herder, as for Klopstock, the essential element of genuine poetry is the power to appeal to the emotions; to stir man's whole inner nature.⁶

1) *Lebensbild*, I, 3, a, pp.80,84.

2) *Lebensbild*, I, 3, a, p.87—"Odenfeuer"; p.64—"Enthusiasmus" and "hohe Poetische Theopneustie"; pp.88,89—"Dieses freche Feuer des Parenthyrus ist das schöpferische Genie", p.83—"Schöpfersgeist".

3) *Lebensbild*, I, 3, a, pp.63,83.

4) *Lebensbild*, I, 3, a, p.83. Suphan *VIV*, 234,(1764); *VIV*, 8,(1764) 230,235,258. Herder, like Klopstock, believes in a personal genius-*VIV*, 10, 232, 247, 249, 251.

5) *Lebensbild*, I, 3, a, p. 82, 84. Compare pp. 62, 63.

6) *Lebensbild*, I, 3, a, p. 63.

Thus far Herder's ideas coincide with those which Klopstock had expressed before him, but his critical mind causes him to emphasize more than does the poet their practical application. He realizes that the beautiful is closely related to the human emotions;¹ and the more nearly these approach a unit in the artist's nature, the less easily can a critic reduce the aesthetic qualities of such a creation to principles of artistic production.² If one tries to analyze a true work of art too closely, all "fire and spirit" vanish and only "water and dust" remain.³ Thus Herder recognizes that rules deduced from classical models lack entirely that very element which makes the poet's creation a true work of genius, and thus can never give rise to genuine art. If the reader perceives that a poem is built about the frame-work of a classical model, he will feel that there is lacking, in spite of all possible perfection of form, that indefinable spirit which permeates an original creation, and will find nothing of aesthetic value but a few fine thoughts.⁴ Thus early, even before leaving Koenigsberg, and just at the time when he first realized in Klopstock the qualities of a true genius, the young critic emphasizes the fundamental ideas regarding originality in art.

In his later work, Herder continues to interpret genius as the necessary element in the production of original master-pieces now using mystical language to describe it and emphasizing its

1) *Lebensbild I*, 3, a, p. 61

2) *Lebensbild I*, 3, a, p. 66.

3) *Lebensbild I*, 3, a, p. 96.

4) *Lebensbild I*, 3, a, p. 67.

divine quality,¹ and now speaking of it in terms of nature's phenomena and dwelling on the French element.² He is fond, too, of reference to a personal genius; of a guardian spirit which watches over man.³ The critic considers genius an inborn heavenly gift, which needs, however, to be aroused and disciplined before it can reach perfection.⁴ In other terms, he considers it a natural ability to "feel" the beautiful, which in the genius becomes second nature.⁵ The work of the genius is therefore not a product of reflection and of study; but instead, it is the spontaneous structure built by his imagination, but kept within bounds by observation of nature and restrained emotion. Herder realizes the besetting danger that unfettered fancy and passion would lose themselves in abstractions, and hence failing to stir the reader's emotions, leave his soul cold (leer).⁶ He demands that poetry that would appeal fully to man's inner nature; that would possess action and passion; and this he feels can never be the result of conscious studied labor.⁷

The purely reflective poet he considers no poet at all.⁸ The ode, from

1) Suphan "VIII, 133, (1796); VIII, 334, (1778)" -Poetry is the daughter of heaven"; V, 218, (1773)-Shakespeare is possessed with "Götterkraft" and is a fortunate "Göttersohn" endowed with "Schöpfungsgeist"; VIII, 104, (1787)-To build an immortal master-piece in the footsteps of the creator; XVII, 51, (1774)-Poetry is a harp of the gods"; IX, 325, (1769)-"Trieben der Gottheit", "Geist der Schöpfung"; XVIII, 641, (1780-1800)-"Schöpfer Geist". Lebensbild I, 276, (1765)-"Schöpfungsgeist. "VIII, 73, (1796)"Raphael, a heavenly genius".

2) V, 183, (1773)-Poetry is the "stormiest, most secure daughter of the human soul". Erw. mit seiner Gattin, 279-Poetry is a mirror of the heart". Suphan V, 166, (1769)-Poetry is the music of the soul. XVIII, 74, (1796)-Poetry is the pure language of the heart and mind."

3) Lebensbild I, 2, pp. 128, 136, 142, 177, 56. Lebensbild III, 1, pp. 104, 114, 117, 59, 180. Nachlass III, p. 71. Erw. mit seiner Gattin, 332. Suphan III, 31; IV, 463; V, 135. "VI", 119, 138, 207, 208, 212, 220, 254, 509, 561.

4) Suphan XVIII, 81, (1796).

5) Suphan IV, 23 (1769).

6) Suphan II, 151, 152, 153, (1768); XIV, 151, (1768); VIII, 20, (1796).

7) Suphan III, 157, 94 (1769); XVIII, 140, (1796); III, 15, (1769).

8) XVIII, 139, (1796).

which sprang all poetry, was originally a simple expression of man's emotional experiences; it was the communion of the human heart with God, itself, and nature.¹ This is what all genuine poetry should be. Our souls can be united in a common bond of harmony by the awakening of fundamental emotions, which, causing "sparks to chase through the heart and soul", give rise to happiness and to productive activity. This is inspiration, - an enlivening of the soul which becomes a creative power and the source of all genuine poetry.² This spirit can be transmitted from one soul to another, especially if both be endowed with genius, and give rise to true art.³

Herder concedes that art can make everything except nature;⁴ all natural phenomena were made in "Gottes-Urf" and were not the result of "sweat and labor".⁵ Thus the poet, in order to produce the natural and the genuinely aesthetic, must draw forth his work from the depths of his soul;⁶ he must let it grow naturally and without restraint by conventional rule.⁷ The true poet, and indeed every "fiery" genius, is unconscious of adherence to rules, or even of a formal conception of what constitutes beauty, when he creates his work; his imagination; his "fiery glance", which encompasses the whole situation; the thousand powers which arise in him; all this works together, and a master-piece is the result.⁸ The world of the emotions is a realm of spirits, of atoms, and only a creative talent can make forms out of it.⁹ In doing

1) Suphan IV, 206, (1773); I, 270, (1767).

2) Lebensbild III, 1, p.116. To Merk, Sept. 1770. Suphan I, 472, (1767).

3) Suphan I, 5, (1764).

4) Suphan IX, 315, 352.

5) Suphan XVII, 380, (1773).

6) Suphan II, 179, (1768).

7) Suphan IX, 329; XVIII, 234; III, 438, (1769).

8) Suphan IV, 23, (1769).

9) Suphan XVIII, 138, (1796).

this the genius will never violate the basic principles of art, even though he should disregard the artificial formulæ deduced from models.¹ Thus Sophocles was unconscious of Aristotelian doctrines when he produced his great work; and yet his genius was far greater than that of Aristotle. Classic rules are of no assistance, but are rather a hindrance to the genius who makes his own path;² the greatest genius absolutely ignores all convention.³ Even the ordinary canons of grammar need not be regarded by him,⁴ for he who is a self-thinker will also be individual in his means of expression. A genius seeks and creates new words; he digs into the bowels of the language, as into a mine, to find gold,⁶ and is able to evolve from the crudest dialect a tongue capable of conveying the most artistic poetry.⁷

Herder condemns all the would-be critics and dogmatists, whose appearance has resulted in the disappearance of all creative fervor.⁸ The purpose of criticism, he believes, is to develop poetry as an art,⁹ and to this end it must embody a recognition that form is an essential element in poetry; but this form is only the body which gives expression to a spirit, to a "great thought", - the real life, the soul, which even determines the outer form. If this soul is destroyed, the form becomes a mere lifeless mask.¹⁰ Thus the most important element of poetry is its spirit;¹¹ and a literature must be careful not to impose upon itself a form foreign

1) Suphan III, 48, (1769).

2) Suphan IV, 19, (1769).

3) Suphan II, 230, (1768).

4) Suphan I, 207, (1767).

5) Suphan II, 20, (1768).

6) Suphan II, 50, (1768).

7) Lebensbild I, 2, p. 160. (1766). S.I., 171, (1767).

8) Suphan XVII, 388, (1773); V, 218, (1773).

9) Suphan VII, 121. (1796).

10) Suphan VIII, 121, (1796).

11) Suphan VIII, 122, (1796).

to its own spirit.¹ Poetry built upon borrowed rules of aesthetics or morality is decadent.² It is a natural law that in poetry and art only the true and the good are lasting;³ and when poetry possesses these qualities - "living nature; true morality" - it will be most genuine in its aesthetic value and be of the greatest influence.⁴ Poetry must contain a spirit of genius, - a certain "fire" which comes from one heart and enters into another, if it would be true art.⁵ Genuine taste and genuine poetry are offspring of a true philosophy of nature, of history and of life; they make up this philosophy.⁶ Thus if the whole subjective world of the soul could be made objective in verse, Herder believes, we would have the highest and most genuine poetry.⁷

Unlike Lessing, whose creative work is largely a result of his critical theories, Klopstock first exercised his powers as a genius and then became a critical interpreter of his own original productions. We have already noted Klopstock's conception of genius and of genuine poetry before 1762; throughout his career he continues to express the same ideas. His great contribution to the literature of criticism was the "Gelehrtenrepublik", published in 1774. In all of his work, both prose and poetry, Klopstock speaks of genius,⁸ nature,⁹ spirit,¹⁰ but in his later years he also

1) Suphan XVIII, 124, (1796).

2) Suphan II, 152, (1768).

3) Suphan XVIII, 58, (1796).

4) Suphan VIII, 435, 338, 339.

5) Suphan I, 256, (1767); VIII, 334, (1778); IV, 368, (1769).

6) Suphan XVIII, 515; II, 156, (1768).

7) Suphan I, 474, (1767).

8) "Unsere Fürsten", 1781. "Wirk", 1778. "Der jetzige Krieg", 1781. Epigrams 70, 73. "Wir und Sie", 1766. "An Freund und Feind", 1781. "Beide" 32.

9) "Aesthetiker", 1782.

10) "Unsere Sprache", 1767. "Gelehrtenrepublik", 159. "Die Verkennung", 1779. "Der Frohsinn", 1784. "Die Räuberin", 1795.

takes use of the French term, *génie*.¹ This inborn, divine power, which awakens the poet at mid-night and impels him to write,² Klopstock believes, must, however, be formally trained by art before it can become perfect in its production.³ But above all artistic perfection, he maintains, a poem must be full of action and passion, without which it would be a mere body without a soul.⁴ For Klopstock, as for Herder, the spirit of a poem is more important than its form; it must present nature, as did the Greeks.⁵ This spirit is not supplied by discipline in the art of writing poetry, but by the poet's genius and his own personality, together with his observation of nature.⁶

Klopstock bids the young poet follow the "spirit" which is in him and to disregard all books of rules.⁷ The true poet bears in his heart his own laws, which are the basis of his poetry.⁸ Thus in twenty verses of Homer, who wrote independent of dogma, there are found more basic laws of poetry than in one thousand paragraphs of books of instruction.⁹ Klopstock is, therefore, utterly opposed to all imitation because it produces according to artificial rules deduced from classical models, which fail to grasp that indefinable spirit which characterizes the highest poetry;¹⁰ it does not come

1) "Unsere Sprache", 1767. "Beruhigung", 1778. "Die Denkzeiten", 1793. "An meinen Bruder, Viktor Ludewig", 1797. Epigram 17.

2) Epigram 70. "Gelehrtenrepublik", 49, 315. - "Studien des Genies".

3) "Beide", 1782. "Gelehrtenrepublik", 155.

4) "Gelehrtenrepublik", 320.

5) "Nachahmer und Erfinder", 1796. "Der Unterschied", 1771.

6) "Gelehrtenrepublik", 159.

7) "Gelehrtenrepublik", 159.

8) "Gelehrtenrepublik", 159, 163; "Aesthetiker", 1782.

9) "Gelehrtenrepublik", 207.

10) Epigram 70. "Gelehrtenrepublik", 55, 155, 127, 206; "Verschiedene Zwecke", (1778); "Delphi", (1782); "Der Nachahmer und der Erfinder", (1796).

from the heart of the poet.¹ In contrast to the geniuses, who he calls "Göttermenschen",² "creators",³ Klopstock terms initiators "Unwissende",⁴ and "Ungeweihte".⁵ He is even more bitter in his condemnation of false genius, which in its delusion throws aside all rule and forsakes all fundamental laws of art, and produces monstrosities.⁶

In Klopstock's estimate, expressed as early as 1755, the true poet has a high and noble duty to perform; he must lift man above the commonplace and enrich his world of thought; he must remind him of his immortality and reveal to him the possibility of greater happiness on this earth.⁷ Such a poet Klopstock himself was, and this Herder recognized. He writes to Lavater, referring to the poet, "Who possesses more feeling of yonder world ... than this heavenly genius in a human form?"⁸ When in his critical works Herder presents his interpretation of the poet's gift to humanity, it is of the message he found expressed in Klopstock's work that he speaks.

Herder believes that God selects certain mortals to act as his regents on earth;⁹ among these chosen few he places the poet, who becomes a god among men.¹⁰ The divine spirit reveals itself to humanity through the poet's work, which thus becomes an interpreter of nature and of God;¹¹ it is a noble, joy-giving balsam

-----¹e) "Gelehrte Republik", 159, 166; "Aesthetiker", (1782).

2) "Der jetzige Krieg", (1781).

3) "Messiah" I, II; "Der Unterschied", (1771).

4) "Wingolf" VI, (1747).

5) "Kaiser Heinrich", (1764).

6) Epigram 108; "Massbestimmung", (1781); "Beide", (1782); "Die Ratsgeberin", (1795); "Lerche und Nachtigall", (1796).

7) "Von der heiligen Poesie", X, 227, (1755).

8) Nachlass II, 14. Oct., 1772.

9) Suphan XIII, 351, (1785).

10) Suphan VIII, 434, (1778).

11) Suphan VIII, 362.

composed of the most secret powers of God's creation.¹ If the poet has this higher purpose and is really a messenger of the gods; if he feels the impulse of this great power and responds to it; his words will "fly like arrows out of his golden quiver into the heart of humanity".² He will breathe with a noble fire, with something transcending the earthly, and will create a whole world of happiness knowledge, language and religion for his people. Such a poet has the hearts of his people at his command and can lead them whither he will, to ends lofty or ignoble. He, however, who recognizes the true dignity and nobility of his genius; who loves his people and his fellow-men; who flees all mean, worldly temptation and fixes his aim upon the position of Orpheus, Homer, Moses, or one of God's prophets; who considers nothing more sacred than the voice of nature and of truth, and possesses that spark of creative power and love which flows into his soul from heaven and dwells in every true poet.
 Under He declares that when such a chosen one appears and permits his soul to express what it, above all other men, has experienced, he will work miracles. He will give utterance to something more than the feelings of his own human heart. As the magnet attracts iron, so he will attract his fellow-beings; as the electrical spark penetrates all things, so his "lightning" will strike into the consciousness of men; as the gentle, radiant sun-beam, flooding everything, becomes here light, there warmth; everywhere, however, beauty, splendor, colors, spring-time, life, - so will genuine poetry work its wonders on individuals and whole peoples.³ He in whose soul great and original thoughts are born into expression; he who sees

 1) Suphan VIII, 343.

2) Suphan VIII, 369.

3) Suphan VIII, 433, 434, (1778).

not with the eye alone, but with the spirit as well, and does not speak only with his tongue but with his soul; he who is able to watch nature create; can spy out new evidences of her workings and convert them by artistic means to human purposes; in him are combined all human faculties most harmoniously; he is the "eigentliche Mensch", and since he appears but rarely, is a God among men.¹

Shortly before his death Herder said to Kurfürst Friedrich August of Saxony that he considered poetry an almost indispensable means for the uplifting and ennobling of man's whole nature and character.² Some years before he had written that all culture begins with story-telling.³ The Greeks drew from Homer wisdom, art, and morality.⁴ The more closely the heroic spirit and natural (ungezierte) humanity are related, the more noble will the human soul be, even without moral compulsion or rule. The more the feeling for beauty is a ruling taste in a nation, and a feeling of humanity the guiding principle of the state, the more effective will poetry be in the life of that nation; the more generally pleasing and useful it will be; and the poet, as a poet, will be recognized a noble citizen of that country.⁵

Herder believes that the poet is first of all a man; an honest friend of humanity; a promoter of health, happiness and truth.⁶ The whole purpose of poetry is to strike the heart of humanity;⁷ it is divine in its effect.⁸ Just as the members of a

1) Suphan VIII, 369, (1785).

2) Frinnerungen III, 228.

3) Suphan XVIII, 32, (1796).

4) Suphan VIII, 371.

5) Suphan II, 154, (1768).

6) Suphan VIII, 424, (1778)

7) Suphan VIII, 407.

8) Suphan VIII, 344.

chorus become one soul and one heart in their song,¹ so poetry and song can unite the hearts of a whole people.² Germany owes to her heroes and her bards the fact that Rome did not conquer her; so long as her poets lived her national spirit was unconquerable; her peculiar traits, customs and manners were maintained, and her personality could not be destroyed. Among barbarous folks songs are knowledge, history, law, manners, joy, charm, comfort, "hours of heaven on earth"; and these peoples are often of purer morals than are the civilized races.³ Similarly, in modern times the most individual poets are the most national, and are the most precious possession of their country.⁴ Their poetry is a mirror of the thoughts of their land, of her faults and virtues; an expression of her highest ideals;⁵ a revelation of her whole soul.⁶ The poet reflects the character of his time; he stands rooted in his century like a tree in the ground.⁷ But his poetry also goes far beyond its time, and becomes the sure prophetess of a nation's future. So Herder sees the prophetic vision of some of Stolberg's "Iamben" and of many of Klopstock's odes, both of his youth and of his later years.⁸

Thus we see that Klopstock, the first great German poet, succeeded in establishing an exalted and substantial position in the affairs of life for the great lineage which he represented, in proving that German genius could produce original and genuine poetry.

He created a new world of thought and emotion and happiness;

1) Suphan VIII, 405.

2) Suphan VIII, 404.

3) Suphan VIII, 389.

4) Suphan II, 44, 160, (1768).

5) Suphan XVIII, 136, (1796).

6) Suphan XVIII, 38, (1796).

7) Suphan II, 265, (1768).

8) Suphan XVIII, 67, (1793).

a teacher of truth and beauty; a judge and prophet of humanity in a much deeper sense than the poor scholar could ever hope to become. Herder did not possess that spark of the highest talent which gives expression to original poetry, yet in the field of criticism his faculty was creative and eminently productive. Here he acted as an interpreter of the more elevated genius, as individualized in Klopstock, and contributed in an impressive degree toward creating a taste for true art and nature in Germany, and an understanding of the basic principles of original production in the field of literature. During his stay in Strassburg Herder introduced Goethe to Klopstock's new poetic world, and inspired his genius; he filled the soul of the man who was to become the greatest poet of Germany with a keen realization of the poet's true position in life and of the mission of poetry for humanity.¹

1) See Otto Lyon, pp.84,86,102, for Herder's influence on Goethe in introducing him to Klopstock. See Herder's Nachlass for Goethe's letters to Herder during the years 1771 and 1772.

PART II
Chapter 2
Religious Views

It is the purpose of this chapter to present - not Herder's and Klopstock's theology or philosophical system - but their religious thought as a part of the new German culture.

Whenever the church in its ceremonies so emphasized form and dogma at the expense of feeling, that man's religious needs were no longer satisfied by its teachings, the spirit of protest was aroused in certain gifted individuals, who then either attempted to reform the church and its doctrines, as in the great Reformation and in the later Pietistic movement, or else sought satisfaction and gave expression to their religious impulses outside the organized church, as did the mystics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A similar spirit of protest we notice in the seventeenth century, - a period in which all sorts of religious sects originated and flourished. This was a religious age; faith in the Bible and in a God, who was conceived as father, protector and comforter, was the basis of its belief. But the following century forsook the paths of pure religion and sought to find a solution for the problem of the universe in speculative philosophy; which, breaking away from all formal tradition and superstition, separated theology from religion. This philosophy of so-called enlightenment, then, took the place of the older religion.

In France, with Voltaire, Helvetius and Rousseau as intellectual leaders, the new movement was religiously destructive; it was directed against the spirit of Christianity and the church itself; against the belief in the divinity of Christ and in the

immortality of man. Out of this the French character developed an exaggerated self-consciousness and egoism which considered sensual enjoyment the highest and only blessing, and completely maimed the better instincts of the human heart. For the Frenchman of greater spiritual elevation nothing but a doctrine of nature-worship, which regarded only the visible manifestation of nature, remained to satisfy his religious cravings.¹ On the other hand, with the exception of Frederick the Great, the German philosophers² and poets were not inclined to take up this sceptical and materialistic view of religion. They did not oppose formal religion, or the church as a representative of formality; but the old spirit of Protestantism animated them, and they resented the intolerant and narrow views of the clergy and of school orthodoxy, which emphasized the nothingness of this world and the terribleness of eternal damnation. They felt keenly the force of the great message which pure Christianity had to deliver, and believed it their duty to uphold this great religion against the attacks made upon it by their French contemporaries. They aspired to find a new inner relation of man to God by becoming the prophets of a new life with freedom, humanity, and love as its sources of nature; tried to find God in his own watchwords. They sought the invisible, ^{creations;} to awaken the divine in man and to help it to express itself in vital, noble activity. Religion was therefore not considered and glorified as dogma alone, but also as poetry; indeed, religion and poetry became one.

The whole renaissance of German culture and literature in the eighteenth century had its root in this religious enthusiasm.³

1) Gelzer I, 178ff.

2) Men like Wolff, Justus Möser, Baumgarten, Lichaelis and Ernesti.

3) Burdach - "Schillers Chordrama und die Geburt des tragischen Stils aus der Musik"-Deutsche Rundschau, Vol.142, p.237. Jan. to Mar., 1910.

The poets of this age broke away from the authority of church tradition and dogma and sought God in nature, and religion in the human heart. They voiced a reaction against the dangers of purely speculative philosophy, and of that mockery of religion which had arisen in court circles.¹ They aroused feeling and imagination, the fundamental elements of all true poetry, and permitted them to play a part in man's religious experiences. Brockes, Drollingor, Fuller, Gellert, Uz, Liscow, Rabener, and Kästner,² each in his own way, attempted to find God in the active experience of life; to give religion a live role in the world of actuality and humanity, by combining it with poetry. They aimed to bring about a harmony between the finite and the infinite; between God and man in the beautiful.

This new spirit, which animated the poets of Germany, received its most perfect expression in Klopstock's "Messiah". Klopstock himself was the greatest prophet of the new gospel of humanity.³ In Zürich he was considered a prophet come from heaven, and "was worshipped as much as was Mohamed in Medina".⁴ He was the poet of the human heart in its strivings after a noble ideal; and his creative work was to bring about the rejuvenation of humanity.

When only twenty-one years of age, in his farewell-address upon leaving Schulpfarta, Klopstock presents the fundamental thoughts of his religious experiences, which find a more beautiful expression in his poetic works. He attempts to express his feelings of gratitude to God ("ewige Gottheit"). "But at the contemplation of his majesty, he becomes dismayed; a "holy shudder" passes through him

1) Erinnerungen II, 231.

2) See Gelzer I.

3) "Der Abschied" (1748)-"Ich sang den Menschen menschlich den Ewigen.

4) Gelzer I, 177. Letter from Schmidt to Cleim.

and leaves him speechless. He feels the insignificance of the human soul compared with the divine spirit. Tears and his faltering voice (coming from his soul transported in rapture) are proof of his desire to express his love and gratitude; but he cannot come to words. ... Man cannot retrace God's footsteps perfectly; he cannot comprehend absolute truth. The highest wisdom of humanity is to acquire but a trifle of truth, and to worship the most holy of beings. ... The human soul comes from God; it is part of the divine spirit and is immortal. When it realizes its dignity and dwells in a healthy body, it can create happiness for itself at the contemplation of the glorious world of nature. ... Piety and virtue are divine qualities. ... The highest merit man can attain is to educate and uplift his fellowmen by his own virtuous example.¹⁾ This Klopstock himself attempted to do in his own life and in his creative works.

Klopstock considered religion an essential element of the highest poetry. In "Von der heiligen Poesie" he says: "To move the whole heart, is above all, in every kind of eloquence, the highest aim the artist can set, and which the hearer may demand of him. To do this by means of religion is a new height, which for us, without revelation, is covered with clouds. Here the poet and the reader may discover with certainty whether or not they are Christians."

'Both he who thus moves our whole heart, and he who responds to this emotion, must have some inkling of divine truth. What poet, possessed though he may be of the happiest genius, can touch our hearts to music if he lacks a real feeling for religious beauty and moral

1) "Klopstock als Mensch und als Dichter", pp. 74 to 84.

purity?¹ It is thus evident that Klopstock considered the religious quality of the "Messiah" of the greatest importance. He writes to Bodmer in September, 1748: "How happy I shall be if, when the 'Messiah' is completed, I shall have contributed something toward the glorification of our divine religion! These thoughts make me so happy! That is my great reward - "² Klopstock's contemporaries, too, felt the power of the religion taught by the great poem. Funke writes to the poet from Copenhagen, December 18, 1758: "Since I consider your 'Messiah' less as a master-piece of human genius, than as a work for the glory of religion and the propagation of piety and virtue in more than one age, and more than one nation; since I am convinced how great a deed he does who animates the human soul with one pious idea - "³

In the odes "Frühlingsfeier" (1759), "Dem Allgegenwärtigen" (1758), and "Morgengesang am Schöpfungstag" (1782), Klopstock makes use of ideas which he had already expressed in the Schulpflicht address in 1745, and conducts his reader outside the walls of the church into the open, where he can "feel" God in the wonderful phenomena of nature and receive new life. He emphasizes again and again that infinity in God which removes him far aloof from the conception of man, and renders even the trees, streams, stars, planets, worlds, however they may rustle and roar, and produce harmonious music, powerless to express all that he embraces.⁴ Thus while the poet attempts to show how vast is the divine spirit, he makes the old God of the catechism a personal deity, and replaces a vague

1) Klopstock X, 237, (1760); compare p. 236.

2) Weimar. Jahrbuch IV, 126.

3) Elizabeth Smith II, 196.

4) "An Gott" (1748); "Der Erlöser" (1751); "Der Erbarmer" (1759); "Dem Unendlichen" (1764); "Das grosse Hallelujah" (1766).

abstraction by a God of nature and of life. He presents not the traditional image of an eternal avenger, but a father of love.¹ He denies eternal damnation, and rescues even the devil, ~~Abaddon~~, in the "Messiah", from hell. In "Von der besten Art ~~der~~ Gott zu denken" he states his belief that God can best be comprehended through the emotions, and can never be reached through reason and speculation alone.

The wonderful effect of the "Messiah" upon the people of his day proved that Klopstock's religious poem satisfied the needs of the time; his poetry became religion itself. One example will suffice to show this. Schubart writes to Klopstock from Ulm in 1775 or 1776: "I recited the "Messiah" in public in the concert-hall at Augsburg. I began with a few closer listeners who were pleased with it. The company soon became much too large for my little room; then the magistrate fitted up a public hall for me, and the size of my audience soon rose to several hundred. All volumes of the 'Messiah', both original prints and copies, available in the town were soon bought up ... high and low, clergy and laity, Catholics and Lutherans came to the lecture with copies of the "Messiah" under their arms.

"Oh, that was a festive spectacle to see all sitting there in solemn stillness; to see how their emotions were stirred; and how they broke forth into expressions of admiration and into tears. 'Klopstock! Klopstock!' resounded from all lips when each lecture was finished. ... In Ludwigsburg there dwell some tradesmen (Handwerksleute) who read the 'Messiah' as a devotional manual, and who rightfully consider it the most divine book after the Bible.

1) "Der Erbarmer" (1759).

How often I made those people happy, and how happy I myself became with them; and how they rewarded me.... You see how much I am indebted to you, most excellent of men! If robust I shall always love you and treasure you; and when I die; I want a copy of the 'Messiah' laid on my boso and buried with me.

"Experience has taught me that the more plius, the more
clevere, the more naive the heart of man is, the greater the effect
of my declamation of the 'Messiah'. I have read your 'Messiah'
wholly or in part, to princes, men of state, military officers, court
ladies, priests, lawyers, physicians, virtuosos, tradesmen, peasants,
women and girls at the spinning-wheel and sewing-table, and I have
always found that he who was most impressed by my reading was of the
best heart. And that will always be true even if the tongues and
hands of all critics of this and later times should become useless
forever. - Just as long as your 'Messiah' increases in favor among
us, just so long, I believe, our nation will progress - and it is
progressing now."¹

Klopstock's poetry aims to make humanity better spiritually and morally; to elevate man to a higher plane of life by making him realize his full humanity.

"Reines Herzens, das sein, es ist die letzte
Steilste Höhe von dem, was Weis' ersannen
Weisre thaten". - "Für den König", 1753.

He therefore dwells upon a nobility of character which expresses itself in deeds, in contradistinction to mere goodness of soul, which is passive and negative and may be accompanied by mediocre ability. He alone is noble, he alone possesses true sublimity, who combines high spiritual powers with innate virtue.² Klopstock

1) Lappenberg, 268.

2) Schulpforta Address (1745) - "Klopstock als Mensch und als

considers it the real task of the poet to give expression to such a high nobility of soul in his work, and thus to conduct others along a similar path.¹ The highest goal of poetry - "moral beauty"² - is to pour great thoughts into the human heart and to elevate the soul.³ The true poet must raise us above our narrow way of thinking and rescue us from the stream (of the common-place) which bears us along.⁴

In "Von dem Range der schönen Künste und der schönen Wissenschaften", Klopstock defines the duty of religion in the service of the nation: "A nation, which, through agriculture, commerce, good laws, and that philosophy (Wissenschaft), which one has grown accustomed to call the higher philosophy (it ought to be called theology alone), has become great is fortunate (glücklich)! But is it a blessed (glückselige) nation? Not until it is also virtuous (tugendhaft). And by what means can it become so? By religion and those moral truths which religion has left to be solved by human understanding."⁵

An early contemporary characterization (1747-48) of Klopstock reveals the fact that people recognized in his own person those noble qualities which he hoped to awaken in others by his poetry, - "He possesses^{es} such an honest and noble heart, that he can be aroused even by the mere semblance of a base and ignoble action. A deed which betrays an evil heart has such a power over him that -----

Dichter", 82; "Der Messias", I, 20, 652; III, 214, 262; IV, 798, 1250; VI, 351; II, 384; XI, 1043; XVII, 529; XVIII, 804. "Salem", (1748); "Friedensburg", (1750); "An Gleim" (1752); "Für den König" (1753); "Friedrich der Fünfte" (1750); "Die beiden Husen" (1752); "Der Hügel und der Hain" (1767); "Wink" (1778); "Freude und Leid" (1798).

1) "Der Hügel und der Hain" (1767).

2) "Von der heiligen Poesie", Klopstock X, 227, (1760).

3) "Der Messias", IV, 504.

4) "Von der heiligen Poesie", X, 346, (1760).

his disgust finds expression in his countenance. He so hates mean and foolish people that he avoids them wherever he can."¹⁾ Such was the poet's character in youth. Dr. Minssen writes to Elizabeth Smith from Altona, July 2, 1805, and gives a picture of Klopstock during his last years: - "I who saw him every day here in Hamburg, found him always in pursuit of whatever is noble, sublime and beautiful. He was a most agreeable companion. We used to call him 'Den ewigen Jüngling', the youth forever! He has lived free all his life time, and has recommended liberty on all occasions! ... He kept up his gentle spirit, his religious principles, and his serenity of mind, till the end of his life."²⁾

Elizabeth Smith quotes from Forn's Critical History of German Poetry and Eloquence (printed at Berlin in 1805): "We may observe in Klopstock three equally excellent traits of character which are displayed in his poems - patriotism, warmth of friendship, and pure religion; ... Klopstock's piety, in its full extent, as it influenced both his heart and his understanding, may clearly be discovered in his odes, 'The Omnipotent', 'Contemplation of God', and in the plan of the 'Messiah'. When we contemplate this last in all its dignity and grandeur, and at the same time consider the courage which was requisite in order to adopt it as the subject of an epic poem, we shall even on this account alone, bestow on Klopstock the title of a great poet. The reception the 'Messiah' found in Germany was adequate to its merits; we congratulated ourselves on a work which the most sacred spirit had inspired, and the admiration which was excited by this extraordinary poet restrained the frivolous

1) Quellen und Forschungen, Vol. 39, p. 70.

2) Elizabeth Smith II, 47.

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criticisms with which the Göttingen school had presented to attack his work."¹

As late as 1824, in an address delivered at Schaffhausen upon the centenary celebration of Klopstock's birth, Karl Chr. Gottlieb Schmidt emphasizes the moral effect of the "Messiah". He considers Klopstock the most sublime of German poets, "whose song had a powerful and blessed influence on the hearts of humanity and will continue to have such an effect as long as the German language is alive. His song has uplifted many hearts above the earthly and sensual to God; has bettered them; strengthened and comforted, and fired them to noble deeds; filled them with a love for the fatherland; has inspired many a youth, so that he fought against his enemy and himself with greater happiness and strength, and conquered at last.² ... He sought to arouse and nourish the noblest feelings."³

Just as in Klopstock's, so in Herder's life feeling dominated over reason,⁴ and his love for nature⁵ was as strong as his love for books. He himself tells us in the "Reisejournal"⁶ (1769): "A feeling for the sublime is the nature (Wendung) of my soul: my love, my hate, my admiration; my dreams of happiness and misfortune, my purpose to live in the world, my expression, my style, my demeanor, my countenance, my conversation, my occupation, - everything is determined by it. My love! how closely it borders on the sublime ... how a misfortune, the tear of a friend, can move me! ... This accounts for my predilection for speculation and for the "sombre"

1) Elizabeth Smith II, 30 - (Quotation in English).

2) "Klopstock als Mensch und als Dichter", p. 15.

3) "Klopstock als Mensch und als Dichter", p. 16.

4) Suphan IV, 695. Herder to Countess Christine Brühl (1784): "That is the life-history of mankind, - not idea, it is feeling."

5) Erinnerungen I, 211, 222.

6) Suphan IV, 438.

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in philosophy, in poetry, in prose (*Erzählungen*), and in thought! This accounts for my fondness for the shades of antiquity and for the remote past! For my love for the Hebrews as a people; for the Greeks, Egyptians, Celts, Scots, etc. This explains my first occupations; the dreams of a winter-world of my youth; the love of my garden; my solitary walks; my shuddering (Schauder) at psychological discoveries, and at new thoughts which arose out of my soul; my half intelligible, half obscure style; ... everything! My life is a passage through Gothic vaults, or at least through an allée of green shades: the view is always venerable and sublime; the entrance was dark and forbidding (eine Art Schauder); however, I shall feel another sort of distraction (Verwirrung), when suddenly the allée opens and I find myself in the open. Now it is my duty to make use of these impressions to the best of my ability; to cultivate still my wealth of reflection, but also to notice the sun which breaks through the leaves, and paints more beautiful shadows; to give heed to the song-filled meadows (*mit ihrem Getümme*); always however to remain in the onward passage. The last simile was impressed upon me especially in the woods at Nantes. ... I felt myself so filled with great thoughts, that I could imagine the experiences of the Savior in his greatest triumphs; then I glanced up and saw the allée like a green temple of the Almighty before me, and there arose within me echoes from Kleist's hymn ... and then I read again, and saw the sun through the leaves, heard the distant turmoil of the city and thought of those who were in possession of my heart, and wept! Thither shall my spirit journey back when I read Karmontel's first chapters, and Thomas Daquesceau, and when I am imbued with the spirit of the Messiah and delineate a life of Jesus."

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This great sympathy with nature and love for the noble and beautiful found birth in Herder's early youth in his father's garden where he received his first deep impressions of nature and religion, and of the greatness of the human soul.¹ He was a quiet imaginative youth with a most delicate sense for the sublime.² All these traits were nourished by the healthy mysticism which characterized the religion of the Herder family. Young Gottfried's first volumes of instruction were the Bible and the hymnal. Besides satisfying his religious needs, these two books aroused his love and understanding for the Orient, as the primitive spot of man's dwelling, and for poetry; they gave his historical, poetic sense its first impulse.³ Thus we may say that in Herder's early years the foundation was laid for his later great work as critic and evangelist of humanity.

In Koenigsberg Herder came under the influence of deistic philosophy, and received instruction in the Wolff-Leibniz school from his professors, Lilienthal and Kant.⁴ But Herder was not a rationalist by nature,⁵ and these theories did not satisfy him. He found a more helpful teacher in Hamann, who, although a disciple of enlightenment, believed that through his emotional nature man can most perfectly comprehend God; his was a philosophy of introspection and feeling, and this became the basis of Herder's religion of real experience and inner freedom. At the same time, we will recall, the young critic learned from his great teacher to recognize the divine qualities of the human soul, as exemplified in the

1) Erinnerungen I, 22, 16, 18, 20, 21.

2) Erinnerungen I, 34, 38, 42, 45.

3) Erinnerungen I, 70.

4) Erinnerungen I, 56.

5) Erinnerungen I, 101.

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creative genius, and saw the marvelous effect of such power in the works of the English dramatist, Shakespeare, and of the German poet,lopstock. Here in Königsberg, even this early in his career, Herder practised his religion and diffused everywhere the influence of his personality; his friends recognized that "the spirit of religion and humanity surrounded him at all times."¹

In Riga, as the years brought added experience, Herder recognized more and more how unsympathetic speculative philosophy is with practical life and how little it appeals to the heart; he sought a philosophy of experience which would combine feeling and reason. He says in a sermon: "The Creator has given us enough reasoning power to enable us to distinguish evil from good, and to become happy; but not enough to enable us to philosophize away (hinweggrübeln) all the bright illusions of existence and make us unhappy. We may thank the Creator that we have enough light to continue on the way of life, but also that he has kept from us a light which would blind us and make us unsteady. Let reason be our guiding star: but, Oh God, teach me ever to be human also; then I shall be happy."² In 1767 he writes to Kant that "human philosophy" is his dearest occupation;³ "der Mensch" (humanity) is his goal in his search for truth, and his philosophy is based upon life.⁴

In his conception of religion Herder very early inclined toward enlightenment rather than toward the older Christianity; he recognized the importance of a knowledge of history in the study of religion. He was as opposed to the traditional God of the catechism

1) Erinnerungen I, 63. Herr Kurella to Pastor Puttlich, (Apr. 2, 1805)

2) Suphan XXIII, 471.

3) Erinnerungen III, 150.

4) Erinnerungen I, 88, 97.

as to the metaphysical God of philosophy. He turned to books which breathe the spirit of nature, and read them in the open to dispel the false deity worshipped by reason;¹ to the study of history to drive out the phantoms of churchly form.² He would treat the Bible as the "hermeneutics of Christianity",³ and believes that to understand it fully, one must treat it as historically as any other book. One must attempt, he says, to grasp the spirit of its authors; of the public which read it; of the nation which it represents; one must try to interpret its own spirit. He considers it an "ancient, oriental, poetical, national and popular piece", which ought to be considered a vital example of traditional composition, and not a judicial (*gerichtliches*) testament.³ The story of the creation of the world is the most sacred poem of antiquity, - the oldest production springing from the dawn of time;⁴ like all mythological national songs, it was colored by the religion of the land which gave it birth; by the traditions of the fathers of that land, and its national ideas.⁵ Such was Herder's conception of the Bible while still in Riga. He never, however, depreciated its value as a most vital force in the moral and spiritual life of the human race. In 1775 he defines it as the history of God from the beginning to the end of the world; 'we do not comprehend all of it any more than we do nature, but we can understand enough of it to make us believe and hope, and to move us to noble activity. As time goes on, the history of man's labors on earth becomes longer and the

1) Erinnerungen I, 69. In 1769 Herder terms Klopstock the most sacred of poets and his "Messiah" the most sacred of poems. Suphan III, 244.

2) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 486.

3) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 462.

4) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 516.

5) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 390, 459, 556, 464.

more easily will he interpret the Bible.¹ In 1802 Herder calls the Scriptures a collection of the books of an ancient people; he still emphasizes the importance of its study, and says "the more important its contents, the more it deserves critical, historical investigation."²

In his early religious writings, between 1766 and 1769, Herder presents the fundamental ideas of his religion, just as Klopstock had done as a youth in his address at Schulpforta. Herder considers man a "divine, ennobled creature (Thier)! an image of Elohim! an earthly, visible God of creatures!"³ He rules in his kingdom⁴ in the image of the eternal.⁵ His noble spirit, which loves the sublime and great and despises the dust of earth, causes him to reach heavenward.⁶ In his activities, in science, art and invention, man becomes an imitator of the Deity, and a second creator.⁷ Herder considers the human soul a divinity in us; the God in us and the God over us create the same world.⁸ Thus great discoverers and great philosophers, like Newton and Leibniz, are messengers of the Eternal to the human race, because they disclose the truth.⁹ God gave man this divine power to penetrate nature;¹⁰ but man can never hope to fathom the universe to its depths; the very moment he should succeed in doing so, his human soul would become one with the soul of the infinite.¹¹ Herder believes that the difference between God and the human soul is only a difference

1) Erinnerungen III, 161.

2) Suphan XIV, 98, 100.

3) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 449. Later, 1787, (XIV, 210): "God made man a God

4) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 452. (on earth.)

5) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 493, 508.

6) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 493.

7) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 453.

8) Compare Suphan XVI, 566, (1788): Nachlass II, 264-To Jacobi, Decem-

9) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 541. (ber, 1784.)

10) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 450, 540. 11) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 539.

In the essay, "Der Predner Gottes", of 1765, Herder presents his picture of the really great preacher of religion. "He must be a son of wisdom, educated in a knowledge of life, who teaches virtue, morality and religion; he does not make use of Biblical language in his sermons, but leads his congregation into the true contents of the Bible as into a holy of holies, and brings them into direct relation with that spirit which animated all great religious souls."¹ Four years later he announces that he is determined to make his sermons, addresses, and essays "human", because the human heart opens alone to him who can move it.² He would give the catechism an appeal to his own time, so its interpreter need not preach like the prophets, psalmists and apostles.³ Herder believed the Heidelberg catechism of little use for his day. The older generations distilled from the Bible a catechism adapted in language and thought to their own age; and he believed that with just as much right could the younger generation make a catechism suited to its own needs. The present was just as sacred to him as the past - and even more so, because man lives in the present, and for the future.⁴ In Riga as in Koenigsberg, young Herder so practised his religion that the youths who came into contact with him looked upon him as their Christ.⁵

Herder always considered harmful all formal methodism in the sacred relation of the human heart to the Highest Being, if it prescribed the same road for all and disregarded all other ways.⁶ In Riga he once said: "Instead of making my religion and the

1) Lebensbild I, 2, p. 83.

2) Suphan IV, 368, (1769).

3) Suphan IV, 442, (1769).

4) Preuss. Jahrbücher, Vol. XVII, 159. Caroline to G. Müller.

5) Erinnerungen I, 109.

6) Erinnerungen III, 211.

mythology of highly organized nations the man in and, I should always find more of value (Wahrung) in the simplest religion of savages, who, close to nature, show less of the poet but more of human kind. The simplest, oldest religions lay bare the bosom of humanity.¹ He recognized that a religion of the heart is fundamentally the same all over the earth and is free from external form and dogma. "Man is really man when he acts according to instinct and not to enforced rule; the same is true of genuine poetry."² Poetry lives in the heart of the human race, whose basic human qualities are always the same. The greatest poetry is an "opening of the human soul"; an unfolding of man's inner nature, - subtle thoughts, fiery images, and visions of the future.³ Herder therefore believes that religion, a matter of the heart, has the greatest right to draw upon the beauty and charm of poetry and music, as did the mythological tales of the Greeks and Romans.⁴ He points out the human touch which the poet of the first book of Moses brought out in describing the joy of the Creator at having made light out of darkness, - light being symbolical of the good, the beautiful and the joyous, in its opposition to the horror of eternal night. To make clear how fearful night was to the people for whom the Biblical poet wrote and why he used it as a symbol of evil, Herder recalls the effect upon the reader of the inhuman and awful deed which is performed at mid-night in Shakespeare's "Macbeth". He places a poet of antiquity, inspired by religion, together with a modern genius, inspired by the poetic muse.⁵

1) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 381.

2) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 392f.

3) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 472.

4) Suphan II, 59.

5) Lebensbild I, 3, a, 424.

Just as Klopstoc*i* had done in his poetry, Herder would conduct man into the great temple of nature whose vault is heaven and whose trumpeters are the stars and planets.¹ He believes that religion becomes glorified in nature as well as nature in religion.² He, too, recognizes the necessity that man feels for expressing his nobility in deeds. His divine nature is not revealed in mere dreams of the future and in idle speculations, but in some noble activity, which constitutes the fulfillment of his mission.³ Herder also realized very early (1768) the importance of religion to the state in strengthening the bond which unites^a king to his subjects.⁴

In his farewell sermon in Riga (1769) Herder expresses his gospel of humanity: "On God depends our whole existence, here on earth and in eternity. We came from Him, live under His care, and shall sometime, sooner or later return to Him. He gave us our being, and with it all our capacity for happiness and usefulness in the world. He gave us duties to perform: duties which are bound so closely with our nature, that without them our happiness cannot exist. He gave us our knowledge and taught man 'what he knows'; he permitted us, when our nature had degenerated, to return to happiness and to His mercy, through the redemption of Jesus; he lent us a high, divine assistance in order that we might again reach the original dignity of our nature and happiness. Everything which can make human souls happy depends upon God ... (our strivings) to be perfect as He ... our Holy Scriptures were given us by God and are a means of making us happy ... my words were not human, but -----"

1) *Lebensbild I*, 3, a, 570.

2) *Lebensbild I*, 565. *Lebensbild III*, 1, p. 111. (1770). *Suphan VIII*, 15. (1784). Compare later: *Nachlass II*, 279 (1785); 264 (1784); 255

3) *Lebensbild I*, 3, a, 509.

4) *Suphan XXI*, 43, (1768).

divine words, to lead human souls to happiness."...¹

Thus far we have traced Herder's religious experiences through the time of his residence in Riga. We well recall it was here, too, that he read to his friends and probably to his congregation, those unpublished parts of the "Messiah" which he was able to secure,² just as he read parts of it later to his circle of friends in Darmstadt.³ Elizabeth Smith probably had Herder in mind when she writes concerning the "Messiah": "Young preachers quoted it from the pulpit; and Christian readers loved it, as a book that afforded them, amidst the rage of controversy, some scope for devout feeling."⁴ Herder undoubtedly received from Klopstock's poetry, in addition to mere aesthetic enjoyment, a great deal of inspiration in the furtherance of his gospel of humanity. In referring, in an outline made in 1768 for the study of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, to Genesis I, 1 to 3, he makes use of the note, "So gross und weit als eine Klopstock'sche Aussicht"⁵ (As broad and vast a view as the eye of Klopstock can see). Here again he compares the old Biblical poet with a modern genius; but this time with a poet of his own people whose inspiration was religion also and whose imagination succeeded in creating visions equally great and exalted.⁶

After the year 1769 Herder's religion leans more toward mysticism; not, however, toward that melancholy, pietistic form of it which he saw, while still a boy, in Trescho, who probably

1) *Lebensbild* I, 2, p. 71, (1769).

2) *Erinnerungen* I, 114.

3) *Erinnerungen* I, 154.

4) Elizabeth Smith II, 19, (1810).

5) *Lebensbild* I, 3, a, p. 394 - found quoted again in Suphan IIIII, (163).

6) *Lebensbild* I, 3, a, 394.

aroused in him an antagonism for this inner religion of the heart. We will recall how closely his soul felt itself a part of nature in the woods at Nantes, and this identification with the great world about him has deepened his inner life and reawakened that healthy mysticism which characterized the religion of his childhood. He writes to Caroline, September 20, 1770: "Put what is richer and more inexhaustible and more manifold than the world of a human heart! - And what is more infinite than the ever-changing diversity of nature!"² Herder believes in a mysterious prophetic power which passes like a flash of lightning through the human soul.³ He thinks every person possesses a genius, that is, a certain divine gift in the deepest recesses of his soul, which guides him, - a light, which, if one would follow it and not allow one's reasoning powers to put it out, would be the greatest power for good.⁴

When Herder first came to Bückeburg on May 28, 1771, he was considered by some a most enlightened thinker,⁵ and by others a mysticist. A certain sect, called Böhmists, even believed him one of their number and asked him to attend several of their meetings. But Herder was unfriendly toward all sects, and could not become reconciled to any binding religious views. After instilling a greater freedom of belief into their souls than they had ever before known, he withdrew from their circles.⁶ This liberal spirit which he carried with him soon invaded all other circles.

1) Erinnerungen I, 28. Lebensbild I, 1, p. 25, 148, 151.

2) Erinnerungen I, 165. Lebensbild III, 1, p. 111, to Nork, Sept., 1770, Herder considers "Weltgeist" the greatest name for God.

3) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 215. To Caroline (1770).

4) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 218. To Caroline, (Sept., 22, 1770). See

5) Erinnerungen II, 24. (Erinnerungen I, 165).

6) Aus dem Herderschen Hause, 53. Nachlass II, 133. To Lavater, May, 1775. Herder says he prefers mysticists to Wolffian philosophers.

A half year after his coming, the Countess Maria of Pückler, who became Herder's great friend, writes to him (January 1, 1772): "You have, I am sure, in the short time you have been here, led many a heart to better living and reflection."¹

Through the Countess Herder became increasingly reconciled with the spirit of mysticism, and better acquainted with the writings of the religious enthusiasts, all of which, not excluding those of Jakob Böhme, he read; he respected this form of religion very highly, but did not consider it representative of the truth he sought.² On the other hand, the Countess was released by his agency from a depressingly narrow creed; he led her from a mystic-pietistic, ascetic methodism, with which she had been acquainted from youth, to freer, more comprehensive views of the ways and works of God.³ He brought her happiness and peace.⁴ Herder writes to her in 1774: "The spirit of Jesus, unselfishness and love of God, is no spirit of fear, but of freedom and joy."⁵ One year later the Countess writes to her friend and pastor: "Of what concern are Quietism, Pietism, Mohammedan, Jew, Heathen, and all the rest to me? Where the spirit of God dwells, do I care what external garb it displays? I do not desire the garment, but the life and substance of religion; I have trusted Herder for a long time to give me nothing else, and to conduct me to the true light. I do not even understand the meaning of all these terms; I hardly know the misused names."⁶

1) Erinnerungen II, 65.

2) Erinnerungen III, 190, 231.

3) Erinnerungen II, 62.

4) Erinnerungen II, 36. Preuss. Jahrb., VIII, 30. Aus dem Herderschen Hause, pp. VI, II, VIII.

5) Erinnerungen II, 115.

6) Erinnerungen II, 128.

As a consequence of this deepening of his inner life the question of the immortality of the soul occupies Herder's mind during his years in Bückeburg. He can find no proof of a future life in the Bible; it has revealed nothing excepting what refers to our moral sense, to our humanity. The book of Revelations he considers a poetic book which he cannot understand. He finds no dogma of eternal life. 'How silently Jesus taught eternity! He had to tell of the resurrection, because the Jews demanded that from him as a Messiah; but he colors it with moral value. Any teaching of a future world must refer to this life, encourage us, and moving our moral sense, awake the future angel within us. Thus it will unite every good soul with eternity.¹ The spirit of God writes immortality into our hearts. The human soul feels it is immortal; it does not need proof.² Thus, too, Herder believes morality cannot be forced upon us; it must grow in us and become part of us. 'Let each one act alone out of himself, according to his inner character; that is morality.'³

In Bückeburg, as in Riga, Herder attempts to make his sermons human. He writes to Caroline (March 21, 1772): "My sermons have as little which is purely spiritual about them as my person. They are the human feelings of a full heart." Most of his sermons were not written out; he depended upon the inspiration of the moment. Just as his dress bore no insignia of his pastoral position except a white collar and a black mantle, so his sermons bore no outward sign of their official character beyond the prayer which

1) Nachlass II, 15. Herder to Lavater, Oct. 30, 1772.

2) Erinnerungen II, 116; I, 190. Compare Nachlass II, 26. To

3) Erinnerungen I, 234. (Lavater, Feb., 1775.)

4) Nachlass III, 204.

introduced the and which closed the .¹ In his farewell sermon Herder tells his congregation that he had always intended to present to them the sensible and divine thoughts of the Bible and nature - "these two great books of God" - simply, clearly and forcefully. He had not intended in his sermons to baffle himself with consecrated and ever-misconstrued words, which cause confusion in thought, but to introduce them to the true meaning and content of the Scriptures; to their real spirit and life.

During the first year of his residence in Büdelsburg Herder gave the Countess Maria Klopstock's "Messiah" and "Lieder" to read. When she returns the poem she sends a note in which she says that Herder's sermons, referring to the future life, contain more genuine, lasting and impressive truth, than the narration of those things in the "Messiah" which no human eye has seen; she refers especially to the nineteenth song.² She feels that the poet has allowed his imagination to lose itself in abstractions; that he has neglected the human element in striving for the highest religious beauty. In Herder's sermons she finds that religious truth which comes close to the human heart. Klopstock's "Lieder" the Countess considers "quite heavenly" (ganz himmlisch).³

At a time when Klopstock's "Messiah" was producing its greatest moral effect throughout Germany, Herder wrote his essay, "Über die Wirkung der Dichtkunst" (1778). In it he recognizes the divine element in poetry and its close relation to religion.

He believes poetry of divine origin;⁴ a revelation of God to man;⁵

1) Nachlass III, 204.

2) Erinnerungen II, 85. Countess Marie to Herder, (1772).

3) Erinnerungen II, 95. Countess Marie to Herder, (Dec. 1772).

4) Suphan VIII, 405, 362.

5) Suphan VIII, 358. Compare Suphan VIII, (1784); 351, (1785).

He calls it "the noble, joy-giving halo coming from the secret power of God's creation."¹ The oldest law-givers, founders of religious mysteries and divine services, inventors of the most beautiful things of life, and teachers of morality, were poets. If the poet was a real messenger from the gods he had the greatest influence.² The highest type of poetry is divine in its effect; and brings new life; it transforms men's morals.⁴ Thus Homer gave the Greeks art and wisdom and morality.⁵ But the greatest poetry is so closely bound to religion that a nation which is without the latter or makes a burlesque of it can have no great, effective (würkerde) poetry.⁶ In these ideas Herder expresses the same belief to which Klopstock had given utterance in his essay "Von der heiligen Poesie", first published in 1755, and the truth of which he had proved in his creative work.

Very early in his career Herder realized the shortcomings of the theology of his youth, and made attempts to bring it out of the schools and closer to man; he took a broader view than most theologians of his time. He surveyed a new path, and prepared the way for a freer and more human conception of theology.⁷ He had always attempted to elevate the church service from within by reviving in it the true spirit of Christianity; but, particularly at the beginning of the nineties, religion and the Church had become such objects of scorn and mockery, especially through the Jena-Hantian philosophy, that Herder adhered more closely to the old

- 1) Suphan VIII, 343.
- 2) Suphan VIII, 366.
- 3) Suphan VIII, 369.
- 4) Suphan VIII, 344, 433.
- 5) Suphan VIII, 371.
- 6) Suphan VIII, 410.
- 7) Erinnerungen I, 89.

form of church service, and sought to revive the old sublime, religious spirit in his more private duties of communion, confession, and baptism.¹ He considered it the duty of Christianity to teach pure humanity, without retaining the doctrine of the divine origin of its founder, and of salvation through the God-man as a basis for religious conviction. He recognized that the essence of Christianity lay in a loving, active, unselfish life; in the development of our inner being according to Christ's example.² 'The principle of Christianity', he said, 'is not law but gospel. It is founded on pure benevolence and love, which embraces sympathy, friendship, conviviality, gratitude, magnanimity, conciliation, justness, consideration for the faults of others, philanthropy, and human kindness. It frees us from our greatest enemies, anger, revenge, cruelty, envy, surliness, malice; it develops a moral sense in us without compulsory rule; it brings us closer to each of soul. It is not strict philosophy, but a gentler and more effective training for virtue, and it is the best suited for mankind. It is universal human truth; its duty is brotherly and universal love.'³ Christ wished to promote a kingdom of God on earth; he did not plant it in heaven, but founded it upon universal, genuine humanity. He did not deceive his people by flattery; he appeared as a physician to make them whole; as a shepherd to gather in the strayed sheep; as a brother and a hero to free and release. With this end in view he founded his church. He who accepts his religion must accept also the idea regarding the possibility of the perfection of mankind, and must try to reach that goal through humanity.⁴

1) Erinnerungen III, 29.

2) Nachlass II, 15.

3) Suphan XVIII, 338.

4) Suphan XVIII, 329, (1792).

'The purer a religion is, the more it must aim to promote humanity. The religion of Christ, which he himself professed, taught, and practised, was humanity. He knew no higher name than "son of man" (Herrschensohn).¹ Nothing less exalted nor so much is religion.² The more the spirit of humanity animates the hearts of a people from hut to throne, the more advanced is the state.'³

Jean Paul Richter writes to Herder, August 17, 1796: "You have united theology with philosophy like a mediator, in making the Savior a 'protomedicus' of our diseased souls, and his institution a moral 'clinicum'; in taking a man of God out of a God-man; a higher and broader pythagorean covenant out of the apostolic mission. You have separated heaven and earth, which (according to the Egyptians) were one at the beginning, and have allowed Jesus to become human for the second time ... and may no one give him again the divine gloss (Schminke) which covers up all his noble features."⁴ In his "Vorschule der Ästhetik" (1804) Richter says: "Thus Herder combined the boldest freedom of the conception of God and nature with the most pious faith, even believing in premonitions."⁵

Science and religion were not antagonists in Herder's mind; he was heartily in sympathy with all scientific discovery and progress. He often lamented the fact that the German princes did not give more universal support to the advancement of the knowledge of galvanism, electricity, magnetism, anatomy, physiography, physics and physiology. He wished he were just beginning life, so

1) Suphan XVII, 121, (1793).

2) Suphan VIII, 164, (1784).

3) Suphan XVII, 121, (1793).

4) Nachlass I, 277.

5) Erinnerungen III, 249.

that he might hope to see a greater progress in these things. He was absorbed by these ideas, - the discovery, combination and harmony of the laws of nature among themselves and in their relation to the universe and men. He often said that the progress in scientific discovery brought the brighter and the more certain light; and that on this path we must continue to build and to seek the truth concerning the great laws of nature. With this new knowledge Herder also hoped for a new virtue and a new life. The more physical science enlightens man's knowledge, he believes, the more firm should his spiritual beliefs become, and the higher should his soul rise in its reverence and love for the greatest original creator of all.¹

Both Klopstock and Herder sought the happiness of mankind in religion; not in the dogmatic Christianity taught by church doctrine, but in that broader spirit which embraces the whole universe and creates a joyful feeling of harmony and peace in the human soul. They brought a gospel of optimism; of confiding trust in God and nature, and dispelled the fear and morbid introspection which tormented the lives of Brockes, Haller and Günther. Morality was no longer to be a matter of rule and compulsion, forced upon the human race by the threat of eternal damnation. They believed in the development of the innate goodness of humanity; a certain inner freedom which controls man's conduct. Nobility of character, which expresses itself in useful, human deeds, was to take the place of the older moral goodness, which more often was mere passivity.

 1) Erinnerungen III, 194. Nachlass II, 279: "Intramundane God". To Jacobi, Sept. 1785. Compare Nachlass II, 126, 164, 255. Suphan XIII, 15, (1784). "The force which is active in me, is, in its nature, just as eternal a force as that which holds together suns and stars."

Klopstock, as poet, occupies the position of the precursor and gives to poetry the high place of the older moral doctrine. He combines the religious with the aesthetic, and thus creates a new spirit of humanity, one which animates the lives of his contemporaries and ushers in a new era for Germany. He conducts man outside the walls of the church into the broad world of the beautiful, of nature, and God. Herder follows in Klopstock's foot-steps and combines the aesthetic with the religious; but he, as scholar and critic, adds philosophy, science and history to his gospel of humanity. Religion in Herder's mind, was the beginning of all culture; the goal of all culture he considered the highest humanity.¹ Klopstock practised his humanity in his own life, and in his creative works. Herder gave expression to his belief in his own deeds, in his writings and in his sermons. Both great men were preachers of humanity.

Jean Paul Richter says in his "Dämmungen für Deutschland", referring to Herder: "I now turn my attention to a poetic spirit who allowed the pure ether of heaven to permeate all his works, and who shut out from them all unholy sounds, as from holy temples; he who, like unto a genial (geistig) oriental, always dwelt under the open heavens and slumbered only on heights. Would ye bring religion from its heaven and plant it upon the earth through the muses like Socrates did philosophy, then follow his example or that of a Klopstock. ... Such muses alone can become the means of conversion of so many great spirits."²

Compare XIII, 170, 171, 176, 199; XIV, 361, 377, 255, 139, 204, 161.

1) T. Genthe, 44.

2) Erinnerungen III, 252.

PART II

Chapter 3

Patriotism

The general awakening of national consciousness in the eighteenth century, which went hand in hand with the widening of the mental horizon of the individual, passed through a state of vague universalism and cosmopolitanism before it developed into political nationalism. The history of France and England, in this regard, differs very decidedly from that of Germany. The two former countries had been for centuries complete national and cultural units; they possessed not only a national literature and culture, but also a constitutional and political individuality. In order, therefore, to forsake the path of cosmopolitanism, they had only to confine their efforts to the study and perfection of those political conditions which already existed. In France, toward the close of the century, both the merchant and literary classes united in the conscious creation of a truly national spirit which, active in all its manifestations from the very beginning, finally sought by force to gain freedom from tyranny and oppression and so brought about a complete governmental revolution. Germany, on the other hand, even at the very end of the eighteenth century, was not a united political power, a "Nationalstaat", but rather a "Kulturstaat",¹ - a heterogeneous collection of many individual states, provinces, and free cities,

1) F. Meinecke - "Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat."

held together not by the bonds of constitutional government, but by the more natural ties of social characteristics, cultural tradition, and language. These ties, probably stronger in the German people than in the French or English, had never been completely severed - not even during the destructive times of the Thirty Years War - and in them was preserved the spirit of the German people, even if the nation, as such, did not exist. This spirit found its most vital expression in the lives and works of the great thinkers and poets of the eighteenth century, who presented, as in a mirror, that ideal picture of a united fatherland which, in spite of external disruption, stirred the hearts of their countrymen. Thus German nationalism, finally triumphant in the nineteenth century, was a gradual, unconscious growth, - born of the old Germanic ideals of humanity and freedom preserved in the minds and hearts of Germany's scholars and literary men.

The general spirit of the eighteenth century was especially unfavorable to the awakening in Germany of that great conscious effort which would have been necessary to form a politically united state. The greatest minds were interested in the universal affairs of mankind; in humanity and nature; in religion and philosophy; in history and tradition. Man was studied in his relation to the great world in which he lives; to the universe and to his God; and his political relations were considered in the same light, with practically no concern for him as citizen of his country. But the great thinkers and poets only too often neglected the people themselves, "das Volk", in their efforts to find a true humanism; they forgot that all the individuals of a state cannot see with the eyes of the philosopher or poet. Their idealism had to be made practical. Thus, in its turn, cosmopolitanism had to be narrowed to

nationalism; until gradually the German came to realize that affairs of state were as worthy of his attention as philosophy and literature, and that, indeed, a strong and united political state was necessary to his happiness.

Only when we consider this enthusiasm for the universal can we account for the lack of genuine, political interest during this period, and for the fact that the greatest minds commonly referred to the state as a "fragment", and to patriotism as something narrow and useless, - even considering it a moral weakness in man.¹ We must not look too closely for an expression of patriotic feeling in the modern sense of the word, which presupposes the existence of a united political state. What we do find in the German writers of the eighteenth century is a manifestation of racial consciousness, of Teutonic spirit; an expression of a love for things German and for Germany, without which modern German nationalism would have been impossible. If we accept this as the meaning of patriotism none of the literary men of the country was a truer patriot than was Klopstock and Herder. Both were imbued with a vivid German spirit which expressed itself in an ardent love for the honor and welfare of their fatherland; both probably contributed more toward the awakening and maintenance of a genuine interest in the German nation than any of their contemporaries.

Elizabeth Smith, one of the earliest admirers and translators of Klopstock in England, wrote of Klopstock, in 1810: "...the

1) Schiller to Körner, Oct. 13, 1780. Lessing to Gleim, Dec. 16, 1758. Hajm "Humboldt", p 51.

warmth of patriotism which early animated him to raise the tone of German literature in this particular to a level with those of other European countries; the just indignation he felt in reading the words of a Frenchman, who had denied to the Germans any talents for poetry; all combined with the consciousness of his own superior powers to spur him on to the execution of his exalted plan.¹ This Frenchman was Eliazer Lauvillon, a teacher at the Carolinum in Brunswick, who, in the tenth of his "Lettres fran^çaises et germaniques, ou Réflexions militaires, littéraires et critiques sur les Francois et les Allemands" (Londres 1740), had said: "Nommez-moi un esprit créateur sur votre Parnasse, c'est à dire, nommez-moi un poète Allemand, qui ait tiré de son propre fond un ouvrage de quelque réputation; je vous en défie."² Klopstock was the first German to answer this challenge and to prove conclusively by his great creative work that the German race did possess genius. Horn's "Critical History of German Poetry and Eloquence", printed just two years after Klopstock's death, and one of the earliest literary histories to a peer in Germany, acknowledges the poet's patriotic services: "The poet appeared in Germany at a time, when unconscious of our own powers, or at least neglecting them, we favored only foreign productions, and were not restrained from proceeding in that unworthy conduct, even by the insolence with which our neighbour's received such adulation. We had accustomed ourselves to consider the poetical compositions of the French as particularly excellent;

1) Elizabeth Smith, II, 5.

2) D. F. Strauss, II, pp. 12-13.

and whilst one person after another repeated this opinion, all our attempts were imitations of those models; and the bold, national, poetic spirit of former times was regarded with contempt. Klopstock also had the courage to awaken the attention of his fellow-country-men, by his noble compositions full of ardour and tenderness; in order that they might resume their ancient force and energy, and that calm dignity, which confides in itself, and is unwilling to borrow from others. He was the man who first animated his native land with the spirit to attain to that degree of excellence in the higher species of poetry, of which it was capable, and to which it has already attained."¹ Thus we may say that patriotism, a love for his people and his nation, was the primary impulse that stirred Klopstock in his great labors.

The first emphatic expression of Klopstock's love for and interest in Germany we find in his Latin farewell address, delivered in Schulpfalz, on September 21, 1745, when the poet was still but a youth. He laments the fact that with the single exception of Germany all the great nations of Europe have produced great epics, in his opinion the most elevated and commanding form of poetry. He says: "A just indignation seizes my soul when forced to perceive this great lethargy of our people. We seek to produce a work of genius by busying ourselves with miserable dawdlings; with poems which seem to be born for no other purpose than to perish and pass into oblivion, we, quite unworthy of the name 'Germans', venture to gain immortality!" By reminding his country-men of the proverbial bravery of their ancestors in battle, and of the renown

¹⁾ Quoted in English translation by Elizabeth Smith II, 30.

they themselves have gained in philosophy and in the arts and sciences, he hopes to arouse a sense of noble shame at their long neglect of the duty of adding new lustre to the name of the Fatherland by poetic effort. He prays fervently that a truly great German poet will soon appear.¹

Flopstock realized the natural inclination of the German nation to admire and to love things foreign, and in so doing to neglect and ignore its own merits.

"Sie war gegen das Ausland
Ein anderes Land gerecht, wie du.
Sey nicht allzugerecht! Sie denken nicht edel genug,
Zu sehen, wie schön dein Fehler ist!"²

He knew full well the native genius of the Germans and their great creative power in the field of artistic and intellectual endeavor. Thus early, therefore, he expresses his lofty contempt for those poets who, underestimating their ability, abuse their own talents by slavishly imitating foreign writers. He directs his rebukes especially against the imitation of the French and English, for he believes German genius of equal rank with that of its neighbors. He is convinced that if they relied on their own powers entirely the German poets would outstrip those of France and England, - yea, even give rise to a literature as great as that of ancient Greece. He expresses this idea very forcefully in the ode, "Der Nachahmer" (1764):

"Schrecket noch andrer Gesang dich, o Sohn Teutons,
Als Griechengesang: so gehören dir Herkunft,
Luther night an, Leibnitz, Jene nicht an,
Welche der Hain Braga's verbarg."

1) D. F. Strauss II, 31-35.
2) "Mein Vaterland" (1768).

Lichter, so bist du mein Deutscher; ein Fackelbär,
Festsetzt vom Jochie, verkennt du dien' Seh'or;
Keines Gesang wackt dir' trübsafts Schläpert;
Lach', ohne Schlar beweis' du sie!"

The Germans, he says, have been slave of imitation long enough; they must cast off their chains, and must be made to realize the great powers which dwell within them; they must learn to give free expression to their own feelings and tastes, unhampered by the spirit of imitation and worship of foreign models.¹

From the very beginning, however, Klopstock ^{is} in no wise inclined to pessimism regarding the future of German literature. Only seven years after the famous address at Schulpforta, in a letter to Greim (February 19, 1752), he points with pride to the fact that Germany has already produced epics equal in worth to those written by the French and English poets, and promises to outdo the work of these nations. He addresses the French:

"Zu stolze Gallier, schweigt nun, und fleht um Grade;
Sonst brechen wir nun euch den Stab,
Und sprechen euch den Geist gebietrisch ab!"

To the English he directs the following words:

"Ihr habt das Paradies und der Leonidas!
Das ist nun ungefähr so auch etwas!
Allein wir haben
Für's erste: nicht gewisse Gaben!
Für's andre: Hermann, Friedrich, Liedod,
Und dann auch die Cresiade!
Drum fehlt uns gar nichts mehr, als eure Duncias!"²

How much Klopstock himself contributed to bring German literature to such a position we already know.

1) See the odes: "Frägen", "Die beiden Lusen" (1752); "Kaiser Heinrich", "Der Nachahmer" (1764); "Wir und Sie" (1766); "Der Flügel und der Hain" (1767); "Mein Vaterland" (1768).

2) Klopstock X, 407. Compare "Die beiden Lusen" (1752).

When Klopstock, while still in Schulforth, sought a worthy subject for the epic which he felt himself called upon to create for Germany, his first choice was the great emperor, Henry the Fowler, whose history he had known from early childhood. This monarch had founded Quedlinburg, the city which was to become his final resting-place, and many centuries later the scene of Klopstock's birth. But in spite of the poet's love for this great German ruler, in spite of his glowing patriotic regard for Germany, his interest in humanity was too broad and all-embracing to confine itself to an historical hero, whose efforts were limited to the welfare of a single people. His careful religious training had brought him to a deep comprehension of the grandeur of the great founder of Christianity who gave up his life in his unbounded love for mankind. The Saviour's ineffable nobility of character inspired Klopstock with the conception of the Messiah as the most exalted hero for a Christian epic. Here, then, the poet's patriotic feeling had to give way to his great love for humanity. He himself tells us of the choice of a subject for the epic he was to write, in the ode, "Mein Vaterland" (1768):

"Früh hab ich dir (meinen Vaterland) mich geweilt.
Schon, da mein Herz
Den ersten Schlag der Ehrbegierde schlug,
Erkör ich, unter den Lanzen und Harnischen
Heinrich, deinen Befreier, zu singen."

Alein ich sah die höhere Bahn,
Und, entflammt von mehr, denn nur Ehrbegier,
Zog ich weit sie vor. Sie führet hinauf
Zu dem Vaterlande des Menschengeschlechts."

The earliest patriotic ode of Klopstock dates probably from the year 1749 or even before. It is the poem which appeared in 1771 with the title, "Heinrich der Vogler", but which was first

published in the "Bremer Beiträge" with the heading, "Kriegsspiel zur Nachahmung des alten Gedichts von der Greifensee-Schlacht", and there celebrated Frederick II of Prussia. This was the first and only time that Klopstock paid poetic tribute to Frederick the Great. Later he changed title and poem and wiped out all traces of Frederick's name; he even denied that he had ever intended to honor the Prussian ruler.¹ In his youthful enthusiasm he had been carried away by the great success of Frederick's military achievements;² but later he had a broader vision and demanded something more in a king than an ardent desire to enlarge the boundaries of his country. Even if Klopstock could have dealt leniently with Frederick's materialistic philosophy, he could not overlook his disdain for German poetry, which was just beginning to flourish, and needed the hearty sympathy of its monarch. The poet's love for Germany and his ardent hope for her future high position among the literary nations of the world was far greater than his love for his own king, when that king did not lend all his support to the complete development of his people, spiritual as well as political.

In Frederick V of Denmark, however, Klopstock found those ideal qualities which he demanded in a great ruler, and which he had missed in the Prussian monarch. He celebrates him in the ode, "Friedrich der Fünfte" (1750):

"Welchen König der Gott über die Könige
Mit einweihendem Blick, als er geboren ward,
Sah vom hohen Olymp, dieser wird Menschenfreund
Seyn und Vater des Vaterlands. . . ."

^{1}} D. F. Strauss X, 82-84.

^{2}} Klopstock II, 336ff. Klopstock writes to Roland of his study of military tactics and maneuvers in his youth and of his early interest in the Seven Years War.

Lange sitzt er im Sessel, "Ihn ein Geist' er ist:
 Gott achämen und selig Schöpfer des alldurch'seyn
 Vieler Tausend"! Er hält vielend die Höhe erreicht
 Und entschliesst sich wie Gott zu seyn."

'The spirit of conquest', he points out, 'does not animate Frederick V; he is too noble to desire fame won on the field of conquest. It is love for humanity he wishes to be a father to his people and in turn to be beloved by them. He rewards righteous deeds, and their smiles graciously upon those who, consecrating themselves to the muses, work silently but surely to make nobler, through their productions, their fellow-men. Above all, the greatest desire of such a monarch is to imitate God in ministering to the happiness of his people.'¹ In the ode, "Für den König" (1753), the poet says that the most exalted object the human eye can look upon is a king who succeeds in making his people happy:

... "Ich weiss, was gross und schön ist
 In dem Leben. Allein Das ist das Höchste,
 Was des Sterblichen Augen
 Sehn kann: Ein König, der Glückliche macht!"

Finally, in the "Prayer of a Good King" (1755), Klopstock, enlarging upon these general ideas, presents a complete picture of his ideal ruler.² In the absence of a glorious figure on the contemporary political stage of Germany the poet rescues Hermann, Germany's ideal hero, from the dim past, and celebrates him in several odes.³ And again, in "Kaiser Heinrich" (1764), he turns to sing his praises to another of Germany's past heroes.

- 1) Compare "Friedrich der Fünfte" (1751); "Die Königen Luise" (1752); "Die Genesung des Königs" (1759).
- 2) Klopstock V, 288ff. Published again in 1782 in Craner's "Er und über Ihn".
- 3) "Hermann und Thusnelda", "Frägen" (1752); "Der Nachahmer" (1764); "Wir und Sie" (1766); "Stintenburg" (1766); "Hermann" (1767).

Beginning with the year 1764 we find Klopstock's poetic genius more active, patriotic than ever before. Religion and love no longer engross his entire attention, and he becomes more serious in his contemplation of the past history of his country. We find traces of Klopstock's interest in old Germanic history and mythology, however, as early as 1747.¹ In January, 1749, he writes to Bodmer, that he has read the Minnesongs ("Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des 13. Jahrhunderts aus der Manessischen Sammlung. Zürich, 1748"), but has no inclination just then to take up the study of the language of these "noble ancients", which would be necessary to understand them.² It is possible that Klopstock's cousin, Schmidt, first turned the poet's attention to the older history of Germany. Schmidt's own interest in Norse and Celtic mythology, as we gather from a letter to Gleim, dated September 12, 1750,³ had been aroused by reading quotations from Olaus Wormius in Temple's essay "De la vertu héroïque." He translated Lodbrog's "Sterbelied" in the meter of the Chevychase ballad, and this meter Klopstock chose for his "Kriegslied", written in 1749.

Interest in the historic past was becoming more general; it had never, indeed, been lifeless. Opitz mentions Danske Hidmpe Viiser, and Lohenstein had written his "Traminus". Tacitus, too, was not entirely neglected. In 1750 appeared Schütze's "Lehrbegriff der alten Deutschen und Nordischen Völker" and Joh. Chr. Schmidt's

1) Grohmann, p.11.

2) Weimar. Jahrbuch IV, 135.

3) Klamer Schmidt I, 137. Schmidt gives Gleim information concerning Norse mythology. Compare Quellen und Forschungen, VIII, 18. (Erich Schmidt).

"Ragnarlied". A German translation of Tallet's "Introduction à l'histoire de Danemarke" (1757) was published in 1765. Gersberg's "Gedicht eines Skalden", which gave the earliest important impulse toward the introduction of Norse mythology, made its appearance in 1766.¹ But of greater moment to Klopstock than all these works was the appearance of Ossian.

James Macpherson published in 1760 his "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gallic or Norse Language"; in 1761 appeared his epic, "Fingal", and in 1763 his "Temora". Notices and translations of these works made their appearance in Germany as early as 1762.² The year 1764 marks the beginning for Klopstock of a period of renewed activity in the field of the ode, and the poet's acquaintance with Ossian has been considered by recent criticism the impulse which prompted that activity.³ The influence of the Gallic bard upon the German poet is especially visible in the odes written in the years 1764, 1766, and 1767, and in the "Bardiete", "Die Hermannsschlacht" and "Hermann und die Fürsten"; traces of it appear also in the later odes and "Bardiete", and even in the last songs of the "Messiah".⁴ From the year 1764 onward, Klopstock neglected entirely the old classical divinities and introduced the Norse gods into his work; he even drove out the inhabitants of Olympus from older

1) Grohmann, p. 11.

2) Tombo, p 4ff. Bibliography of Ossian in Germany.

3) Tombo, 92, 94, 95.

4) Tombo, p. 94.

poems and filled their places with the dwellers of Tuatha. By the end of the year 1767 he had transformed his old world of classical gods into a realm of old Norse deities, interspersed by the basic figures of Ossian.¹ Celts and Germans were one race in Klopstock's mind, and he believed the Old Norse system of gods, was found in the Edda, the common religion of both peoples; so that Ossian's heroes and the characters of Old Norse mythology went hand in hand in his own poetry.² At the height of his admiration for the great Celtic poet Klopstock writes to Denis (August 4, 1767): "I love Ossian so much that I place his works above certain productions written during the most flourishing time of Greek antiquity."³ This great interest in the Northern singer may be attributed to Klopstock's warm patriotism for his own country, and may be explained by the fact that he considered Ossian an ancient German poet. Thus he writes to Gleim, June 31, 1769: "Ossian was of German descent, for he was a Caledonian."⁴ The poet even considered Ossian a German Homer; he sings to him in the ode, "Unsre Sprache" (1767):

"Die Vergessenheit umhüllt", o Ossian, auch dich!
Dich haben sie herbor, und du stehst nun da,
Gleichest dich dem Griechen, trotzest ihm,
Und fragst, ob wie du er entflamme den Gesang?"⁵

Klopstock writes to Denis, September 8, 1767: "Ossian's works are truly master-pieces. If we could only find such a bard!"⁶

1) Lappenberg, 172. Klopstock to Denis, Sept. 8, 1767. See Tombo, 87. Grohmann, , says that Klopstock was probably the first to seek to make of Braga and Modan live figures.

2) See Klamer Schmidt I, 137. Schmidt to Gleim, Sept. 12, 1750.

3) Lappenberg, 166. Compare Lappenberg, 164 - To Denis, Jan. 6, 1767.

4) Klamer Schmidt II, 214f.

5) Compare "Der Hügel und der Hain" (1767).

6) Lappenberg, 172.

He longs to find as a counterpart to the old bard some incisive countryman who had grown upon German soil, filled with the inspiration of Germany. Less than a year after (July 22, 1768) we learn that he believes this prayer to have been ~~partly~~^{fully} fulfilled. He writes to Denis: "Your news regarding the existence of Illyrian bards who have come down to us in tradition caused me such great joy, that I could really have wished that your vision had pleased me less, so that I might be able to beg you to put it aside and to translate these bards." He informs Denis that he has been working with some Old German fragments, and intends to publish a small collection of them, hoping to include some of the above-mentioned Illyrian poems. He says he has rediscovered¹ a Saxon poet (author of the "Heliand") who wrote during the reign of Louis the Pious and who is the greatest known poet from his time to the Reformation. This letter also informs Denis of Klopstock's study of various languages, including Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Cimbric, Frisian, and Celtic.² To Ebert Klopstock writes, May 5, 1769: "I have learned our Low Saxon language as it was at the time of Louis the Pious. It is preserved in only one monument, the manuscript of which is in the British Museum and which the king (of Denmark) is having copied. I shall edit it with the title: 'Die Geschichte des Erlösers, durch einen christlichen Dichter bald nach Witekinds Pardon'. I am editing it, indeed, primarily to teach the Germans to recognize fully the wealth of their language,- but it also possesses poetic

 1) Klopstock acknowledges in his letter to Gleim that the English historian, Hikes, could have made the Germans familiar with the poet of the "Heliand" at the beginning of the century, if they had read his works. Klopstock V, 435. Klamer Schmidt I, 314f.

2) Lappenberg, 210f.

beauties, and of those there are not a few."¹ In addition to the linguistic and artistic importance of this poem, Klopstock emphasizes the notable place it will occupy in the cultural history of the German peoples. He says: "It is also of importance to see how we North Germans thought about religion soon after the time when Karl, by sword and inquisition, converted us."² In comparison with the sublimity of the poetry of the "Heliand", Klopstock recognizes the non-poetic nature of Etfrid's "Evangelienbuch".³ Klopstock also discovered the Anglo-Saxon poet, Caedmon, anew for the Germans. He considers him a Milton,⁴ - "The greatest poet among our ancients excepting Essian!"⁵ As his labors still continued, it was clear that the great impelling motive in Klopstock's study of German antiquity was always patriotism. He writes to Gleim, June 31, 1769: "I hope you are satisfied with the patriotic spirit which forces me to become a scholar, for without this patriotism I would not have cared to be a student. My chief purpose is the further development and perfection of our language."⁶

Concerning the position of Germany among the other nations Klopstock writes to Gleim, September 2, 1769: "Most exalted and noble citizen of our fatherland, in your presence I give vent to my joy. The Germans with their temperament not rashly excitable (die nicht aufflammen) but at once equable and ardent (die glühen), will from now on ... engage in a warm and lasting struggle for

- 1) Lappenberg, 218. Compare letter to Gleim, June 31, 1769. Klopstock II, 435; Klamer Schmidt I, 214f.
- 2) Klamer Schmidt II, 218. To Gleim, June 31, 1769.
- 3) Klopstock IX, 164. "Vom Sylbenmaase" (1770).
- 4) Lappenberg, 211. To Denis, July 22, 1768.
- 5) Klopstock X, 435. To Gleim, June 31, 1769. Compare Gelehrtenrepublik, 294.
- 6) Klamer Schmidt II, 218.

supremacy in the intellectual and cultural field against France and England, and will come out victors. Here they will come into conflict with the Greeks who till now, have been conquerors. I can not hope to live longer than to see the first dust raised by this combat."¹ In his own prose writings Klopstock contributed a large share toward the German scholarship of his day and had no small part in that enlistment of the genuine interest and zeal of the Germans in their intellectual and artistic pursuits which finally placed them so high among civilized nations.² His efforts were directed particularly toward the study and development of language, for he considered it "a receptacle of the peculiar conceptions of a people"³, composed in its very soul, of a people's ideas, feelings and passions.⁴ The poets of a nation, too, he believed, have always possessed a love for their fatherland to a high degree.⁵ He affirmed that a life spent in active service and a life spent at the writing-table are less different than is usually supposed; both may produce effective results, of which those which "relate to the heart" are most excellent.⁶

Klopstock believed firmly that the German will carry out successfully what he has once resolved to do;⁷ and his constant object was to arouse the native character of his people. In 1779 he exhorts his countrymen: "Ye still doubt; ye still possess a fear of ill success, since we challenge you to make the great decision with us? Is that worthy of our ancestors? Of Luther,

1) Klamer Schmidt II, 231.

2) Cf. Gelehrtenrepublik, 204.

3) Gelehrtenrepublik, 225.

4) Klopstock's Works, IX, 431, 437. Von edien Ausdruck, 1779. Gelehrtenrepublik, 245.

5) Gelehrtenrepublik, 180.

6) Gelehrtenrepublik, 36.

7) Gelehrtenrepublik, 439.

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who, with his single strength, and through one book, almost received
the language (of Germany), - and what a language! - Spitz, who
first used this tongue correctly? - Melanchthon, who was called
Germany's teacher, and who was so indeed and was not yet entirely
ceased to be? - Kepler, who saw the cause of the earth's motion
before Newton? - Leibnitz, who also discovered truth through his
imagination? With these truly German men (as kinsmen) in Heaven's
name let us cease being modest to the point of timidity (Kleinmut),
and frightened at the greatness of foreigners (I mean genuine
greatness; for a great deal about them is only external lustre).
Take bold to think German!"¹⁾

In his noble determination to advance the cause of his country, Klopstock even ventured into the field of history. In a letter written by C. Fr. Cramer to Grönveld in Copenhagen, dated Paris, March 18, 1807, we learn that during the winter of 1787-1788 - "Jealous in his patriotism that we had a sufficient number of students of history (Geschichtsforscher) and compilers (Stoppler), but very few historiographers with whom our fatherland could bid defiance to the ancients, to the English and French" - he began with the style of a Tacitus" to write a history of the Seven Years War. However, the work was never published, and Cramer informs us that in a moment of severe self-criticism the poet burned his whole manuscript. During his later visits to Hamburg from Paris Cramer often wished to discuss this history, but Klopstock always answered: "Everything that relates to war, that laurel-crowned fury,

1) Klopstock's works, IX, 436. Vom edlen Ausdruck, 1779.

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impossible and despicable to me. Do not mention him another again."¹ This rejoinder can be fully understood only after Klopstock's attitude toward the French Revolution has been considered.

In the ode, "Das neue Jahrhundert" (1790), Klopstock sang:

"O Freiheit,
Silberton dem Ohr,
Licht den Verstand und hoher Flug zu denken,
Dem Herzen gross Gefühl!"

"O Freiheit, Freiheit! nicht nur der Demokrat
Weiss, was du bist,
Des guten Königes glücklicher Sohn,
Der weiss es auch!"

Thus we see that Klopstock's idea of freedom was not solely a political one, conceiving it as confined to a republic, but rather the freedom of the individual to develop his own powers under favorable external conditions, whether in a republic or monarchy. Freedom was the first foundation-stone of the poet's "Gelehrtenrepublik";² and here, too, its broader meaning held true. When the French Revolution broke out Klopstock, like so many others of his countrymen, thought he saw in this great awakening of national consciousness the beginning of an ideal state, where justice and freedom would rule; and he hailed it with the warmest joy and enthusiasm.

After he had been crowned "citizen" of the French Republic, Klopstock writes to Roland, Minister of the Interior, from Hamburg, November 19, 1792: "It is impossible for a foreigner to earn the honor of being presented with the title 'citizen' by the French National Assembly. The only thing which can, and that so a

1) Klopstock X, 488. Taken from "Iorgenblatt", 1808 - numbers 90 and 91. See X, 491 - Klopstock also wrote some historical "Denkmäler" (descriptions of remarkable events connected with the French Revolution), all trace of which has been lost.
2) Gelehrtenrepublik, 108.

limited degree, make him worthy of it, is no evidence of living which he has already given. ... I began to show a certain ~~confidence~~^{consciousness} the end of 1788 in an ode entitled, 'Les États Généraux'. I believed even thus early to foresee French freedom, and with almost tearful eyes I gave myself expression in effusion of the greatest joy. ... On February 20, 1792, I wrote to La Rochefoucauld that I should stand by the constitution till death. ... The last ode which I composed on the French Revolution dates from April, 1792 and is enclosed herewith ("Der Freiheitskrieg").¹⁾

In his first revolutionary ode Klopstock calls the action of the French people the greatest deed of the century, and pleads with the Germans to follow the glorious example set by their neighbors. In the ode, "Kermet euch selbst" (1789), the poet expresses his feelings even more forcefully. 'France made herself free, and by this noblest of all actions raised herself as high as Olympus.' Klopstock admonishes his own inert, sleeping people to rouse themselves, and, awakening their full spirit of nationality not to fear the purging storm of revolution, so that they might enjoy the blessings it would bring after it had passed. In another ode of the same year (1789—"Der Fürst und sein Hebsweib"), the poet foresees the awakening in Germany of this national consciousness ("der schreckliche Geist der Freiheit"), which already causes the immoral, licentious German princes, of which there were all too many, to tremble for their thrones and for their own safety. The princes, he declares, feel the approach of this "hundred-armed, hundred-eyed specter", against which they are powerless. Klopstock

1) Klopstock's works X, 336ff.

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laments the fact that Germany, the country often called "the land of that glorious spirit of religious freedom, remained silent, and allowed another nation "to raise the freedom of citizenship out of the dust" ("Sie und nicht wir", 1790). But he tries to find comfort in the fact that if the German spirit of freedom has been hindered from producing a more perfect political state in the fatherland, it has been carried in the hearts of the German emigrants to the shores of America, where it has contributed its share in establishing a free country.

.... "An Amerika's Strömen
Flammt schon eigenes Licht, leuchtet den Völkern umher.
hier auch wirkte mir Frost, er war: in Amerika leuchten
Deutsche zugleich umher; aber er tröstete nicht."

The last ode in praise of the great Revolution Klopstock wrote in April, 1792. He encloses it with the letter written to Roland, November 19, 1792, and gives the minister its history. When, in early summer, King Frederick William II of Prussia and Emperor Leopold II of Austria, having agreed in 1791, to attempt the reestablishment of royal power and the old order of things in France, formed an alliance in Berlin, Klopstock sent this ode, "Der Freiheitskrieg", on July 2nd, to Duke Karl Ferdinand of Braunschweig who was to be commander-in-chief of the troops. The poet hoped most sincerely to dissuade the duke from entering upon such an unjust war. Although Klopstock's noble efforts were in vain, he had tried his best to spare his country the stain of this disgrace.

In this same letter to Roland Klopstock warns the French minister that the outrageous deeds committed in Avignon, and especially the awful Paris massacres of September 2nd, must not go

unpunished. He feels the danger that liberty will become license; and he would prevent the French people from sowing and demolishing their own grand creation. He reminds the minister that King Frederick of Denmark is the most absolute ruler in Europe, not through usurpation, but by constitutional right; yet he permitted freedom of the press, freed the serfs and forbade the Danes using negro slaves in the field. He rules justly and is a father to his people; he is the first king to acknowledge the French Republic. Klopstock calls France his new fatherland (he had already given Denmark such the same appellation) and wishes her to join in alliance with Denmark. He is also glad that by being made a "citizen" of the Republic by the French National Assembly, he has become a fellow citizen of Washington.¹

In spite of all the evils which followed closely upon the first outbursts of freedom beyond the Rhine, Klopstock remained faithful to the French movement for a long time. He witnessed the murder of the king, the down-fall of the Girondists, the reign of terror with its horrors in Paris and in the provinces, and even the abolition of religion. He never sent back the diploma which had made him a citizen of the French Republic and fellow-citizen of Washington; he was always proud of it, and continually denied the false reports which claimed he had discarded his title.² But when finally the spirit of conquest broke loose, he could no longer support the French; all his bright hopes for the establishment of an ideal republic were shattered. The most horrible of all horrors now ruled in the very land where he had hoped freedom might dwell

1) Klopstock II, 336ff.

2) Klopstock II, 548. Taken from Berl. Monatschrift, Vol. IIIII, (1796).

in all her glory. 'I ought come of all the good and noble minds, of which the freer people had given promise.'¹⁺ To another a flop stock writes, July 20, 1793: "In what a time we are living! Even a great nation has gone so far as to allow a shameful (criminous) and pretending (erlogene) freedom to have its appearance."²

Klopstock's early enthusiasm for the French Revolution, however, was not an unpatriotic renunciation of his own people, and a transplantation of his love of country in a foreign soil; he considered both the English and the French, as he did the Celts, members of the Germanic race, and his interest and patriotic spirit went out to them beyond the boundaries of Germany as to fellow countrymen. He was interested in this great political upheaval only, insofar as it was applicable to Germany and her future. He looked upon the establishment of a truly republican state as an ideal which he hoped Germany would aim to reach. When this ideal was shattered, his love for France grew cold. "Towards the last Klopstock did not love to speak of the events which have so lately disturbed the world, but turned the discourse with peculiar pleasure to the past scenes of his life."³

In reading Klopstock's correspondence one finds evidence again and again of what a powerful influence the poet's own wonderful personality, as well as his creative works, exerted in arousing and animating his contemporaries with that vital feeling of freedom and love for Germany which burned so brightly in his own heart.

1) "Zwei Nordamerikaner" (1795); see "An La Rocheſoucaulds Schatten" (1793); "Die Verwandlung" (1793); "Das Denkmal" (1794); "Hein Irrtum" (1793); "Der Eroberungskrieg" (1793); "Die beiden Gräber" (1793); "Die Denkzeiten" (1793); "Das Versprechen" (1795).

2) Lappenberg, 404.

3) Elizabeth Smith II, 37.

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members of that loyal band of literary men, the "Society of Friends," wrote to him, March 24, 1774: "When the oak-trees rustled, when our hearts trembled, the moon shone forth more brightly, and our devotion (Bund) to God, freedom and fatherland found expression in our embraces and hand-grasps; even this early we had a foremonition and we said to one another: "God has blessed us. (Jh), great man! You wish to be among us! Ah, now it is no longer recognition; it is a certainty,- God has blessed us! ... Klopstock is among us!"¹

We already know the influence of Klopstock's odes in Darmstadt, and with what a lively interest the Countess Caroline there collected and published them. In the summer of 1774 the nobility again recognized Klopstock when Margrave Carl Frederick of Baden wished to have the poet himself near him and invited him to sojourn at his court. He writes to Klopstock, August 3, 1774: "I am glad to make your personal acquaintance, and to have the poet of religion and the fatherland in my country. You desire unrestrained residence, and that you will enjoy with me at all times; freedom is the noblest right of man, and quite inseparable from all intellectual and literary pursuits (Wissenschaften). I hope to be able soon to assure you how much I value your merits."²

The following extract from a letter of one of the Counts von Stolberg³ to Klopstock, dated Strassburg, May 24, 1775, shows well the attitude of two prominent men toward Klopstock, and toward the position of Germany in the world of letters. It relates the

1) Lappenberg, 256.

2) Lappenberg, 257; see 259. See Strauss, II, pp. 145ff.

3) Lappenberg, 260, says "Graf Christian von Stolberg". Otto Lyon, 109, says "Graf Fritz von Stolberg".

meeting of the Count with the Duke of Lein, Prince his brother, Prince Constantine, a youth of seventeen. "The prince spoke for half an hour with me about the Germans, English and French. I was astonished to hear a young Prince of seventeen hold forth so intelligently. He spoke of the charlatany of French philosophy with such sharp irony and at the same time with such bonhomie, that I marvelled at him. He asked me what I thought of Wieland. I gave him my opinion, frankly, yet with coolness (trocken). 'I believe just as you do,' he said, 'Wieland is most vain (eitel) and always exhausts his own literary powers. He could become (a) good (author), if he were young.' 'Il pourra it se former encore', were his words. You and Gluck, he said, were the pride of Germany. The English (he considered) the leading nation. 'I hope your Excellency excepts us Germans!' I said. 'Oh, that is self evi'ent! I do not include ourselves with the others! We above all!' We both expressed a hearty wish to see the Germans soon contesting with the French."¹⁾

The following extracts show well the impetus Klopstock gave to the spirit of research in the field of philology and literature; at the same time they will illustrate to what an extreme the admirers of the poet went in their praise and worship of him, even verging on the ridiculous. F. D. Gräter writes, January 20, 1797, to Klopstock: "lost worthy among the priests attendant upon the muse of the fatherland, accept with lenient indulgence the small sacrifices which I have laid upon the altar of this muse; permit me, therewith, to reveal in some measure the most sincere

1) Lappenberg, 261ff.

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Gratitudo, which, as silent tribute, since the first spring-time
of my life, I have paid you, as for her who gave me birth; - at
least as the creator of my own patriotism. I should require a
more perfect means of expression to enumerate to you the numberless
sources of my admiration for you, which borders on wonderment;
the veneration which uplifts me; and my love for you, which resem-
bles the fondness of a son for a peerless teacher; whereby I might
justify the boldness with which I force myself upon you. Indeed,
it was one of my greatest wishes, not by any possible talents I
might possess, which are not to be considered at all, but through
an indefatigable zeal in searching for and in cultivating native
treasures of antiquity, to make myself at least so deserving of the
name of German as to approach with some confidence the singer of
the fiery Hermannsschlacht and of many odes to the fatherland, for
whom every true German, old and young, feels an ardent love. Almost
eight years ago I made my début in the literature of our fatherland
with the 'Wordische Blumen'; and for more than eight years it has
been my highest aim to win the approval of the sacred poet of the
Occident. At the same time, I was yet too modest to venture to
approach him, because I had so little reason to expect praise; and
I felt that for this crowning reward of acquaintanceship, I must
wait until perseverance and continued labor had proved my merit.
Now that five volumes, all inspired by this same motive, have left
my hand, that a new volume is ready to make its appearance, and that
the continuation of this work and its results is probable, I first
gather courage to lay these attempts before a man who does not
judge the works of others according to his own exalted position,
before which only his own writings need not blush, but who judges

according to the value of their patriotic influence, and we will scarcely fail to recognize a pure and generous love of Fatherland, which time will always effectually distinguish from a momentary outburst of patriotism. This is all I can say and perhaps too much.

"How much I desire to see your face to face ever yet in this life! A precious but futile wish. I shall be fortunate enough if here below you at least consider me worthy of your support, your patriotic affection and a letter. Above, where our respected fathers dwell, some day I shall rush into your arms, glorified and transfigured."¹ Two years later Gräter pours forth the wildest praise: "... dear and most venerable father, ardently loved by a heart possessed with a pure love for the fatherland ... O beloved, infinitely precious, great, peerless, unmatched one, whom our German fatherland will never forget as long as it exists ... first among all Germans ... most glorious, best, greatest of men!"²

But above all let us not forget Klopstock's great influence on Fichte, that animated moving spirit during the period of the Wars of Liberation. He writes to Klopstock, June 22, 1793: "Dem Einzigen der im frühesten Knabenalter meinem Auge die erste Thräne der Rührung entlockte, - der zuerst den Sinn für's Erhabre, die einige Triebfeder meiner sittlichen Güte, in mir weckte, würde ich meinen Dank auf ein Leben aufgespart haben, in welchem die Entfernung der irdischen Schlacken am Dunkelndem nichts zu denken übrig lässt als den Dank, wenn ich nicht jetzt auf eine vielleicht nicht ganz ungültige Art bei diesem Einzigen eingeführt würde."³

1) Lappenberg, 375ff.
2) Lappenberg, 404ff.
3) Lappenberg, 356.

Let us now turn our attention to Herder. That fervent spirit of patriotism and humanity which animated Klopstock and found early utterance in his works, also entered the heart of young Herder and found its first expression in the short poem, "Desang an den Cyrus". This, the first literary production of Herder, is full of patriotic feeling, expressing admiration, however, not for the young poet's own monarch, Frederick the Great, but celebrating Peter III of Prussia, who ascended the throne January 5, 1762. The military triumphs of Frederick did not stir Herder to admiration, as in the case of Klopstock's "Kriegslied" (1749); but the magnanimity displayed by the foreign ruler in giving up willingly and peacefully all Prussian territory in possession of the Russians, and recalling his subjects, aroused in the young poet's heart a feeling of patriotic gratitude toward this "prince of peace, the anointed of God, the shepherd of his people". Even thus early the ideal and universal tendency of Herder's patriotism becomes clear; it seeks nobility of character, as displayed in the personality of a monarch, even though it must find it in the king of an alien people. In the same way, we will recall, Klopstock turned away from the Prussian ruler to the king of Denmark.

It has been assumed that Herder read Klopstock's "Bardenpoesie" in Frescho's library, and that his interest in the Old German language and in national poetry was first aroused during the years he served as Frescho's secretary (1760-62).¹ Although the last assertion is doubtless true, it is impossible to determine whether or not Herder saw any of Klopstock's early patriotic odes

1) Wm. Grohmann, 11.

while still in Nöhrungen, for we know that the best known of all the odes appeared only periodically in pamphlets, and that many of them were circulated only in manuscript;¹ it is more probable that he read the "Prayer of a Good King", which had appeared in Hamburg in 1753 as one of the "Drei Gebete eines Freigeistes, Christian und Guten Königs", and which might very easily have been in Trescho's possession. This work would have been more than sufficient to inspire Herder to give recognition to Peter III and his action, as he did, and to arouse his patriotism.

In Königsberg Herder's patriotic feelings find a similar expression in at least one poem, "An herzog Ernst Johann" (June 22, 1763).² Duke Ernst Johann of Curland, banished since 1740, had been recalled by Peter III, and was given back his dukedom by Catherine II, who had negotiated his restoration with Frederick of Prussia. Herder wrote his poem of welcome upon this occasion. He credits Frederick the Great with an interest in the duke's welfare, and expresses the feeling of joy which the people of Curland experienced upon the return of their former ruler, who came back to them as a 'father returning to his orphan children'. The advent of their old leader is to mark for the inhabitants of the Russian province the beginning of a new golden age; - Curland, 'which borders on Frederick's state and fortune, is to be the country where magnanimity rules, and industry and fidelity dwell; where virtue blooms, because God and Ernst reward it'. Herder's patriotic ideals, as before in Nöhrungen, here, too, find their realization in the noble character of a foreign ruler. It is

1) It is possible that Trescho was a subscriber to some of the periodicals in which the odes were published - "Fremer Beiträge" for example. In that case Herder might have read them while still in Nöhrungen.
 2) Stephan VIII, 5.

country, again, as expressed in a worthy "father of men", which arouses Herder's patriotic feeling.

But sincere patriotism aroused Klopstock's patriotic genius and inspired him to artistic productions, in Herder it early fixed his critical sense and turned his talents to best advantage in the field of criticism and history. Klopstock's more intense study of the northern languages and literatures dates probably from 1760, and becomes most prominent, as we have noted, in the years 1768 and 1769. It would seem, however, that Herder's historical interest was aroused earlier in life; if not in Pohlungen, at least during the years he spent in Königsberg (1762-1764). He and Hamann must have discussed northern literature and Germanic history, if we may judge from a letter which Hamann writes to Herder, June 30, 1765: "The long-wished for Edda I have already read here, and am in a fair way to fix my attention on the history of our fatherland, for which I have both opportunity and means. - Your intention of learning the Lettic language, dear friend, pleases me."¹ Less than a year later Hamann writes: "Since Easter I have begun Lettic"². Here, then, at least, Herder had undoubtedly inspired his own great teacher.

In the Baltic city of Riga, Herder's first real interest and understanding for politics and affairs of state were awakened.³ Here, in this "republic within a monarchy", he found a "second and a better fatherland" -

"Dein Lutterschoos empfing den Freyding sanfter,
Als sein verjochtes Vaterland!"⁴

1) Lebensbild I, 2, p.90. Hamann to Herder, June 30, 1765.

2) Lebensbild I, 2, p. 133 - Hamann to Herder, April 19, 1766.

3) Erinnerungen I, 97.

4) "Als ich von Liefland aus zu Schiffe ging", May, June, 1769. XIV, 319. Cf. Lebensbild I, 2, p. 193, (Sept. 1766). Similarly Klopstock found a second fatherland in Denmark.

He felt keenly the spirit of love for country and rule which animated the hearts of his new friends among the citizens of Riga, and found hi self in turn filled with his sturdy patriotism.¹ Here he was once and forever impressed by the great blessings of political freedom. He became a most enthusiastic patriot of Riga,- a Russian patriot, with a genuine love for its monarchs. He apostrophizes Peter the Great - "O great father of your Fatherland! Your patriotic spirit is great enough to fill the hearts of ten regents, each one of whom would call forth our respect",² - and pays the warmest poetic tribute to the empress, Catherine II. The picture which Herder draws of Catharine, as ruler of her people, remind one very forcefully of Klopstock's praises of Frederick V of Denmark, and of his "Prayer of a Good King", (1753). She who is ^{seated} on Europe's highest dais, says Herder, is still mother of her people; her scepter is one of mercy. God looks upon her as "daughter of His throne", and promises to grant what she would ask of Him. She does not wish for glory, riches, or laurels, which crown only the enemies of humanity; all she would ask is a mother's heart, and Solomon's wisdom, both to be used to the good of her land and children. As mother, monarch, empress, she creates peace and happiness for her subjects.³ God has made her mother of a nation, just as he himself is father of the world and humanity. Riga is dependent upon Catharine's scepter as the earth is upon that of God.⁴

1) Erinnerungen I, 111-113.

2) Suphan I, 25, (1765). Also MMX, 380, (1773).

3) "Hymnus auf Katharinens Thronbesteigung", (1765) - MMX, 24.
Compare "Am Namesfeste der Monarchin", (1768) and "Als Peter ...
sich vermählte mit Karoline Lowise", (1765).

4) Suphan MMX, 11. "Lobgesang am Neujahrsfest" (1765).

Although Herder became such an enthusiastic Russian patriot, seeing in that land great possibilities for the future in the development of freedom, at heart he remained true to his German blood. In Liefland and Riga the German population was in the majority, and hence German sentiment and civilization was predominant.¹ Here, by contrast with their Slavic neighbors, the Germans became more conscious of that higher culture, which, passed from generation to generation for centuries, had become part of their natural inheritance. So, too, Herder, as pastor and teacher, feels keenly that it is his duty to spread the message of this culture, which he, as an educated German, has to bring to "Liefland, the province of barbarism and luxury, of ignorance and acquired taste, of freedom and slavery."²

At the same time that Klopstock, in Denmark, was studying the Northern language and literature, and endeavoring to give Norse mythology a permanent place in German poetry, Herder, also an exile in Riga, was trying through his critical works to arouse the interest of his countrymen in their own past history, - not merely political, but cultural and literary as well. He considered language the most precious possession of a nation,³ through which it is educated, cultured and "humanized".⁴ The honor of a people depends largely upon the preservation of its language.⁵ In it dwells the whole world of a nation's thought and feeling; it contains its traditions, history, religions, conceptions and principles.

1) Kröhnert, 6.

2) Suphan IV, 362, (1767).

3) Suphan XVII, 58, 59, (1795).

4) Suphan XVII, 58, 59, (1793); XVIII, 387, (1795).

5) Suphan XVII, 210.

of life; it preserves national spirit; it is the very heart and soul of a country.¹ Herder therefore believed that no greater calamity could befall a country than to be bereft of its language, and with that of its rational character. In this respect, he says, Germany, due to her fortunate geographical position and political organization, suffered more than any other country when Roman civilization was introduced.² But the German language, above all, is, and always has been, Herder asserts, an original individual, national language, filled with the very life and blood of our forefathers.³ If it was forced to give way to Latin as a language of learning, as the language of the people it was preserved in all its original vigor and beauty. Among the Suabians it gave birth to Minnesongs whose language, Herder believes, possesses a charm and nobility, which in many respects, modern German has lost.⁴ These old poets are our fathers and their language is the source of our modern tongue. Their poetry is the oldest monument of the German nation; a model of poetic greatness and the true original of our language; it reflects the character of the early Germans. The church (Klosterlateiner) robbed us of these bards.⁵ Herder regrets that, although Karl the Great so loved and admired these old songs that he had them collected, he, nevertheless, destroyed the old Germanic, barbaric spirit which alone could produce them.⁵ Herder pleads that these poets, the oldest fathers of German poetry, be read, studied and venerated. He urges his countrymen to study, along with these old writers, the

1) Suphan II, 41, (1768); IX, 391 ; XVII, 58, 59, (1793), 210, 287; XVI, 604, 605; XVIII, 336, 384, 387, (1795)

2) Suphan I, 364, (1767).

3) Suphan II, 30, (1768); I, 166, 173, (1767); IV, 116, (1769).

4) Suphan II, 248, (1768).

5) Suphan II, 246, (1768).

language of the Meistersinger, of Spitz, Logau and Luther; and above all to read Klopstock more carefully; 'this genius, now, in the German language assumed a creative spirit and first showed this spirit of freedom in Germany.'¹ The study of an original poet like Klopstock opens the way for the student of philosophy to grasp the genius of a language, and thus to compare it with the genius of a nation.² In Klopstock, then, Herder sees the old original, strong, vigorous Teutonic spirit revived. Herder penetrates beyond the beauties of Klopstock's poetry and reaches the very soul of the man, even of the German people.

The chief motive of Herder as of Klopstock in urging the rediscovery of Germany's past was a patriotic one. He says that if the Germans were more zealous in acquainting themselves with their old national songs and poetry, they would not only penetrate the poetic world of thought of their ancestors, but also find works which would approach in merit the ballads of the English, the songs of the French troubadours, the romances of the Spaniards, and the festive "sageliuds" of the old Scalds.³ It is his ambition to see his fatherland occupy that high position among literary nations of which she is worthy, if she would but herself realize it. But Herder is not pessimistic as to her future. He prophesies a time when the German language will return to its old simplicity and strength, throwing off its many useless and borrowed gems. He rejoices in a future harvest of original prose writers, each one of whom will possess an individual style. He sees in some of his contemporaries "the dawn and harbingers of this time."³

1) Suphan I, 165, (1767).

2) Suphan I, 266, (1767).

3) Suphan II, 288, (1768).

Riga, with its political freedom and the active participation displayed by its citizens, appears to Herder to be an ideal place for the cultivation of art and science. Even after he had left Riga, and is in Tantes, he thinks of the possibility of making a perfect state out of the Russian province, where the physical and spiritual powers of man could be fully cultivated and developed. He wonders if he himself is great enough to assume, as the guiding Genius of Liefland, the position of a second Zwingli, Calvin, or Luther. He feels most powerfully the contrast between the noble activity of such a reformer and his own selfish life, hitherto spent among books and at the writing-table. He would put to practical service all he has read and learned for the welfare of all humanity.¹ The thought of becoming a law-giver for princes and kings appeals to him, and he believes that there never was a more opportune time. All of Europe has experienced a universal degeneration; the spirit of the Hanseatic towns has disappeared from northern Europe, and someone must needs revive it.² The ideal place for such a beginning, Herder believes, is Riga; Germany, although much further advanced culturally, cannot hope for such an honor on account of her political situation. The leader of such a movement would be greater even than Zwingli or Calvin.² Herder wishes he had not written the "Kritische Wälde". But he will try to put off the spirit which urges him to literary work, and will try to court the spirit which would force him to external activity. What a great accomplishment it would be if he could make of Riga a happy city where freedom and

1) IV, 362-4, 371, 401-403. (1769).

2) IV, 405.

culture should always rule! Here would be born the spirit of a new culture, which passing over all Europe, would rescue every people from their lethargy.¹ Such is Herder's dream, born of his patriotism and his love for humanity. Herder's friends felt the power of this spirit which animated him. Berens writes to him, December, 1769: "What city will not esteem you and love you, and what prince will give you up, if he is at all just in his estimation of you."²

Herder once said: "Even birds of passage nest where they were hatched, and the most wretched, the most rugged fatherland has often the strongest ties for the race which becomes accustomed to it."³ Thus it was with Herder himself. Travel and absence abroad, with added experience and knowledge of other countries, always caused the love of fatherland in him to grow deeper, and awakened in him a fervent longing to return to his people. In spite of the enthusiasm which he felt for Russia while living in Riga, he always cherished the warmest love for Germany. This becomes evident from a letter written to Caroline from Strassburg, the first year of his return: "Oh, I have always looked forward with pleasure to seeing once more the scenes of my childhood, - my fatherland! - How happy I am now!"⁴ Even in Italy Herder's patriotism manifests itself. He writes to Frau von Dieder, February 10, 1780: "Slowly I am drawing nearer to Germany, - a country and a people whom I treasure and love now even still more than before,

1) IV, 408. Compare IV, 132, (1769): "We Germans quarrel over words, as other nations do over things - we are happy in explanations as others in inventions".

2) Lebensbild II, 133.

3) XIII, 26, 1784.

4) Lebensbild III, 1, p.209.

since I have become acquainted with Italy, and have seen the spirit and activity of the Italian people."¹

It was in France, however, and above all in the city of Paris, that Herder's ardent love for his own people was most forcibly and fully aroused; here he felt keenly the contrast between the spirit and culture of the French and the German nations, and his German nature recalled his fatherland to him and caused him to realize the great merits of his own race and country. He writes to Hartknoch from Paris, December, 1769: "Taste (Gout) and splendor in art and institutions have their center in Paris. But since taste is only the most superficial conception of beauty, and splendor only an outward show, which often covers faults, France can never satisfy me, and I am heartily tired of it."² A few days before he wrote to Nicolai, that his patriotism for Germany grew stronger in him, whereas in most exiles it grows weaker. "I learn to judge more accurately and to get a better conception of German literature the more I become acquainted with other peoples. I travel among foreign peoples, so that I may sometime later give myself up more perfectly and completely to my fatherland."³ This, then, from 1769 on, becomes Herder's guiding motive in all his endeavors. He is no longer a Russian patriot, in spite of occasional

1) Briefwechsel mit seiner Gattin, p. 246.

2) Lebensbild II, 123. Compare Erinnerungen, pp. 128-129.

3) XXII, 416. "Ihr Deutsche nun flieh ich zu Euch
ihr fühlt Natur und Gottes Lieder,
bringt mich zu meiner Einfalt wieder
verjüngst in mein Königreich."

We will recall, too, Herder's estimate of the Frenchman's lack of genuine interest in and knowledge of German literature, and his statement, that Klopstock and his poetry were not for the French and could not be comprehended by the French mind.

3) Brw. mit Nicolai, p. 52. Nov. 30, 1769.

references to Curland;¹ he no longer allows Germany's political situation to discourage him, but accepts his country as it is, and directs all his energy and talents toward developing and improving his own people.

Herder realized the position and duties of the poet in arousing the patriotism which expresses itself in active deeds for the fatherland. Already in 1757 he recognized the patriotic sentiments of Gleim's poems, which, however, were confined to one province (Prussia) instead of to all of Germany.² In Klopstock Herder found a poet who was not provincial but truly national. In 1769 he quotes from Klopstock's poem, "Das neue Jahrhundert" (1760), and says: "At a time when the word, fatherland, is not yet an empty sound, but

'Silberton dem Ohre!
Licht den Verstand und hoher Flug zu denken,
Dem Herzen gross Gefühl!'

Then the name, fatherland, must make a hero of the poet as well as a poet of the hero, and create both affectionate sons of their fatherland. The hero will fight for it; the poet will sing; and if both can no longer save it, both, as sons, will mourn over it. And now, poet, hero, and son of fatherland are one person; this is the time of patriotic songs of lament. They will flow out of a full heart, not only on paper, but will be retained in the memory and

- 1) Nachlass II, 364. Herder to Caroline, 1772. "In Curland more can be done than in poor, disrupted Germany, which suffers under its armies."
- 2) I, 336. (1767). "Gleim's are national songs full of Prussian patriotism". II, 38. (1768) "Let Gleim be a reminder to make use of the history ... of our fatherland and to become national poets." VIII, 430. (1788) "Germany's political and religious state prevented the 'Messiah' from becoming national. Gleim's 'Prussian Grenadier' was only a Prussian grenadier in a war in which Germans fought against Germans."

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live on in the soul. Tradition will preserve them; the people (das Volk) will sing them; they will move to tears and deeds. They are the treasures of a nation, and the emotions they express are the emotions of that people; they possess national spirit, - one great feeling of patriotism".¹⁾

What an important place Klopstock's patriotic odes occupied in the hearts of his countrymen we can learn clearly from two letters which Caroline Flachsland sent to Ferder.²⁾ See Vf. 10, in December, 1771: "The odes to the fatherland are noble and sublime; those which I understand are excellent, and just what my old German heart (which is often a cause for ridicule) longs for. It seems to me that the deeds of our ancestors, who were heroes, must necessarily have a greater effect on us than all the gods of Olympus. I always shudder when Hermann or a bard is called forth from his old moss-covered grave. Poor Klopstock probably shouts into deaf ears and unresponsive hearts."³⁾ In a letter, written the preceding month,⁴⁾ Caroline expresses the anxious longing for a happy, united fatherland, which filled the hearts of all noble-minded Germans of her time. Klopstock's odes, particularly his "Vaterlandslied" (1770), have, she says, stirred her patriotic feelings and caused her to lament that Germany is no longer the powerful nation she was. She finds comfort and happiness in singing this poem to herself.

"Ich bin ein deutsches Nädchen;
Leinläng' ist blau und sanft mein Blick,
Ich hab' ein Herz, das edel ist,
Und stolz und gut."

1) Stephan III, 30, (1769).

2) See also above the chapter on Klopstock's lyrical poetry.

3) Nachlass III, 154.

4) Nachlass III, 144.

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"Ah, alas! Our fatherland is only a phantom of our dreams! specially for men, and for a man like you, a dream. But, when we must create an ideal fatherland. Let it be but a sweet dream, if it cannot be real! Is it not so, my beloved? We slumber and dream this dream safely and peacefully; the way which God commands. These words are but the reflection of Herder's own feelings. He himself, as we know, had found this ideal fatherland pictured in Klopstock's patriotic poetry and paid tribute to it in a poem, "Klopstocks lyrische Poesie", written probably the year of the publication of the Darmstädter edition of Klopstock's odes, (1771). This ideal country of the poet's imagination, he declares, shall be a comfort and the guiding star for a future real and better fatherland; the poet becomes the prophet of the statesman, who makes reality of what has existed before only in the singer's imagination.

In "Das vierte kritische Waldchen" (1769) Herder says: "In Greece it was regarded an equal display of patriotism when the same hand which elevated the meritorious men of the country also crushed the pillars of tyrants. In a time of degeneration it is likewise patriotic to uplift sinking philosophy and to unmask braying (schreiend) ignorance." This was the great task Herder set for himself upon his return to Germany. In his great enthusiasm for the awakening of national spirit during his stay in Strassburg, he even became interested in the Oriental peoples and worked in the library there "among Jews, Arabs, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Syrians, Samaritans."¹ In Dückeburg Herder read the greatest poets of all ages, the ancients, old German poets and English folk-songs.

1) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 236. Herder to Caroline, Oct. 28, 1770.
Compare p. 263, Herder to Hartmann, Nov. 21, 1770.

Percy's "Reliques of Early English Poetry" helped to inspire him to gather together the old songs of his own nation and those of other peoples. In his essays on Ossian and Shakespeare (1773) he points out the importance of old folk-song; and in the following year appears his collection of "Volkslieder", which contains translations of Norse and Danish songs.¹ During the period spent in Bückeburg, and the first portion of his stay in Berlin, Herder's interest in Germanic studies was at its height.

Herder's patriotism is given a powerful expression in the essays "Von deutscher Art und Kunst" (1773) and "Von Altrichter der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst" (1777); they reveal his proud German sentiment. As before in the "Fragmente", but now more forcibly, Herder admonishes the Germans and appeals to their patriotism to gather and preserve the fragments of their old poetry, as the English have done.² He himself was interested in the Volkslied in order, primarily, to rediscover the national spirit and character of the Germans.³ In his enthusiasm Herder seems for a moment to forget Klopstock when he says, Germany is still saturated with the spirit of classicism;⁴ it has, as yet, no living poetry of its own antiquity out of which a Shakespeare or a Spencer, at once a great and a truly national poet, could grow.⁵ Herder laments that Germany has always been a lawgiver and servant to foreign nations, so that she has never been permitted to exercise her own character.⁶ She has always been devastated, he says,

1) Erinnerungen I, 187.

2) Suphan IX, 522, 624, 527. This thought receives poetic expression before in "An den Genius von Deutschland" (1770).

3) Suphan IV, 532.

4) Suphan IV, 524.

5) Suphan III, 528, 550.

6) Suphan IV, 528.

foreigners, who took with them whatever was valuable and gave nothing in return; then the kind-hearted Germans accepted presents, and in admiration of these paltry gifts they forgot the better acquisitions which they still possessed. Thus Germany remained a divided, ill-unified country; always interested in the welfare of others and always imitating others. She was never able to marshal all her powers, and to realize her true self or to benefit by her own merits.¹

If Herder here expresses sentiments similar to those uttered by Klopstock many years before, he resembles the latter poet also in his great optimism and confidence in Germany's future. He calls aloud in tones that vibrate with love and patriotism: "Great and noble tongue! Great and strong people! You have given to all Europe customs, laws, inventions, rulers; and now you accept regency from all Europe. . . . German classical literature is a bird of Paradise, many colored, brilliant, cut all 'flight and height' (ganz Flug, ganz Höhe) - without firm footing on German soil.² . . . Great kingdom of ten peoples - Germany - you have no Shakespeare! Have you no song of your forefathers, of which you could be proud? Swiss, Suabians, Franks, Bavarians, Westphalians, Saxons, Wends, Prussians, - all of you possess nothing! The voice of your fathers has become silenced in dust. People of -----

1) Suphan VIII, 423, (1773); IX, 362, (1773). This thought finds poetic expression in "Eine Frscheinung" (1770).
Suphan IX, 532 - Herder quotes from Klopstock's ode, "Mein Vaterland", 1768:

"Wie was gegen das Ausland
ein anderes Land gerecht wie Du!"

2) Suphan, IX, 529.

courageous worth, of noble virtues and language, have you writing which bears the impress of your souls? ... They have existed; they perhaps still exist; only they are buried in dust, unknown or ignored (that is poems of Germany's antiquity) ... The light of the so-called culture (of our day) would illuminate every corner, and such things are left lying among the cobwebs! Set to work, my brethren, and show our nation what it is and what is not! How it thought and felt, or how it thinks and feels."¹ But at the same time Herder sounds a note of hope and encouragement: "But poor, torn, trampled Germany, have hopes! Your distress will cease! ... The feeling of nationality in itself, its sympathetic spirit, will produce loving poets."²

But in his literary endeavors and great anxiety to raise Germany to a high position among cultured nations, Herder does not lose sight of the importance of the more practical sciences and other branches of knowledge, and the need of the cooperation of the state for their advancement. He recognizes that patriotism has a real, practical side; that man needs a foothold, as a tree its soil.³ This foothold is his state; and it is all-important. The human race has never been without some form of government; this is as natural for it as the union of its members into races.

Governmental organization ^{existed} before the sciences and arts, and is a prerequisite to the very existence of the latter.⁴ Thus Herder even places government above intellectual studies, when he says that it is the right, and philosophy the left arm, of humanity.⁵

1) Suphan IX, 530.

2) Suphan VIII, 432, (1778).

3) Suphan IV, 212, (1767).

4) Suphan IV, 313, (1779).

5) Suphan VIII, 107, (1793).

Then, too, we can understand his statement, that to found a state is greater than to compose a poem, and to establish a republic is greater than to write a comedy.¹ On government depends the welfare of a nation. If the government degenerates, then does also education, and with it, all intellectual pursuits, freedom, the courage of a people, everything.² On the other hand, the more the government cherishes wisdom, kindness, and true patriotism, the more will its education be animated by such a genius and make such results possible.³ He believes, it is not the best omen for future progress that in Germany, the government hesitates to promote intellectual studies (*Wissenschaften*).⁴ The state he considers the mother of its children and its duties are to care for the health, strength and spiritual welfare of all.⁵ He often said that the state had nothing which lay nearer its heart than the education of its youth.⁶

Herder also recognized fully the importance to the state of education and the pursuit of the sciences. Fame and gratitude, he believed, are due every leader who seeks to advance the unification (*Gemeinschaft*) of the German provinces through literature, commerce, or social institutions. Any such leader binds them together by spiritual ties, and therel, in the strongest bond.⁷ "If the human heart ever shows the spark of its divinity,

1) Suphan IX, 383, (1779).

2) Suphan IX, 365, (1779).

3) Suphan IX, 357, (1779); IVVII, 121, (1793).

4) Suphan IX, 368, (1779).

5) Suphan III, 401, (1779).

6) *Erinnerungen* III, 16.

7) Suphan IVVII, 26, (1793).

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it is in the thoughts open with it embraces heaven and earth,
weighs stars, or lifts up the sunbeam, dares to penetrate the
mysteries of the deep, seizes at a bodies, divides the laws of
nature and reckons infinity.¹ Hence Farnier considers nothing
more laudable for a ruler than the noble support he gives to the
advancement of these studies. The culture of individual lands
and provinces is promoted, and in Germany especially it is en-
couraged by the example set by a great regent.² The ideal ruler
will discover the value which lies in each profession and science,
and will attempt to develop them to the point of their highest
efficiency in the state. Thus he will give a new impulse to the
spirit of scientific and cultural endeavor, and at the same time
guarantee for all time the recognition of talent in these pursuits.³
But the king will furnish a still greater incentive and encourage-
ment to these intellectual pursuits if he himself, like Caesar,
Mark Antony and Frederick, is active in them; his participation will
in no wise hamper his talents for rulership, which itself is the
highest art. However, in pursuing one avenue of endeavor he
must not neglect the other; in courting the muses he must not
forget the genius of state.⁴ If religion, folk, fatherland are
but vague names, then will even a noble harp sound hollow and
indistinct; as long as the Germans sing with unnaturally subdued
voices, in fear and trepidation, for reward and fame they will
never hear resound a lyre capable of creating a higher culture or
morality.⁵

1) Suphan IV, 351, (1779).

2) Suphan IV, 356, (1779).

3) Suphan IV, 368, (1779).

4) Suphan IV, 339, (1779).

5) Suphan VIII, 434, (1778).

Herder considered the French Revolution the most remarkable occurrence of his century; nothing, to his mind, since the introduction of Christianity, the migrations, the Renaissance and Reformation was of greater importance; he doubted whether the Crusades and the Thirty Years War were events as right, and far-reaching. Nevertheless, Herder's attitude toward this great phenomenon differed from that of Klopstock and other enthusiasts. He himself says: "I never sympathized with it in a frisking, childish way." Consequently, his disappointment in its results was not so keen. He sought comfort in the hope, that a higher power would winnow the good from among all the evil.¹

If we consider Herder's attitude toward war and blos-
shed we can better understand the fact that his interest in the
Revolution was so much cooler than that of Klopstock. One of the
earliest expressions of his opinion concerning war we find in
"Haben wir noch jetzt das Publikum und Vaterland der Alten?" (1765).
Here he is inspired by Klopstock's ode, "Das neue Jahrhundert"
(1760); not alone his thought and sentiment, but his very language
also is a reflection of the production of his great contemporary.
He considers it praiseworthy and honorable for a patriot to die for
his fatherland, whether that be a republic or a monarchy, and quotes
in defence of his opinion a verse from Klopstock's ode. Later in
his life, however, one seeks vainly for such praise of war. In
his youth particularly, Herder was bitterly opposed to compulsory
military service,² and always doubted the necessity of any recourse

1) Suphan XVIII, 314 (1792). See poems - Suphar VIII, 659, (1790); XXIV, 578, (1793). Compare Erinnerungen III, 12.

2) Erinnerungen I, 33. We will recall, on the other hand, that Klopstock was very much interested in military science and studied it more than once in his life.

to arms. In Rückeburg he explains to Count Wilhelm his conviction that offensive warfare should be abolished, and that the sole legitimate employment which a country could make of force was in self-defence. He believes that the only means of lessening warfare and rendering it less destructive is to change its entire art from the offensive to the defensive.¹ He often speaks of "bloody laurels and the olive branch of the muses"² and particularly after the French Revolution expresses his utter contempt for the conqueror. The spectacle of one fatherland fighting against another in a bloody struggle he considers the worst form of barbarism.³ He curses a war of conquest, and believes that no genuine striving for the welfare of humanity can make any progress in a state where lust of conquest upraises its banner and wears the first livery of the state.⁴ To claim to national glory, he concludes, can be more specious and hollow than that which is based upon aggression and success in arms.⁵

But long before the beginnings of the Napoleonic wars of conquest, Herder had expressed his contempt for bloodshed. He considers nothing more horrible than human sacrifice.⁶ If ever the spirit of humanity wins a place in the affairs of the human race, he says, man must first overcome and discard this unnatural ambition after power.⁷ For not alone do conquests change the affairs

1) Erinnerungen I, 257. See Suphan XVIII, 345, 348.

2) Suphan IX, 332, (1779); VII, 584. Compare Klopfcock's "Prayer of a Good King."

3) Suphan XVII, 319, (1794); XVIII, 312, (1792).

4) Suphan XVII, 55, (1793).

5) Suphan XVII, 317, (1794).

6) Suphan XIII, 462.

7) Suphan XIV, 52, (1787).

of the world; the greatest and most far-reaching changes are brought about by new views of things, new orders, new laws and rights.¹ Not war but peace is the natural state of unoppressed humanity.² Herder considered it far nobler to devote one's whole life fearlessly to the search for truth, freedom, and the general happiness in the quieter walks of existence than to sacrifice it on the battle-field.³

As to government, Herder considers the republican form the best; but he maintains that in order to become a perfect republic a country must not be satisfied with political freedom alone. In 1769 he was ready to pronounce Holland the wonder of all democracies.⁴ At the same time, he clear-sightedly points out that as its single impulse is the commercial spirit, it is upon the point of falling into a gradual decline. If so materialistic a spirit once lays hold upon a country, everything is converted into terms of industry. The state must not become a slave to the struggle for wealth; if it would maintain itself, Herder believes, it must possess higher and nobler ideals, and promote the development of the spiritual powers. The boldest and most nearly divine of the rights have been conceived in republics; the noblest plans and works have been carried out within republican boundaries,⁵ because freedom is the underlying principle of such a government.

And freedom Herder considered the highest right of man.⁶

As early as 1766 he writes to Hamann: "My only possessions are

1) Suphan XIV, 361, (1787).

2) Suphan XIII, 322, (1785).

3) Suphan XII, 149, (1784-85) Compare XVIIT, 379, (1794); XVIIJ, 182, (1797).

4) Suphan IV, 409, (1769).

5) Suphan IV, 376, (1779).

6) Suphan XVII, 234.

freedom and independence."¹ By this he, like Klopstock, means the freedom of the individual; that is, the liberty of conscience which permits a man to think and act as he will in all of his activity.² "Freedom of thought is the fresh air of heaven, in which all plants of government, especially the arts and sciences thrive best. The regent of a state must be almost devoid of prejudices if he would comprehend, bear with, and rectify the opinions of all in his state, and direct public affairs to the greatest general good. It is on this account that great rulers are so rare."³ As soon as the spirit of freedom disappeared in Greece, its language, climate and people might all remain intact, but art and culture were gone.⁴ Since whatever is to grow must grow naturally, the finest flowers of the earth - art and science - demand freedom of soul.⁵ Nothing can be an evidence of taste, if it is not a spontaneous work of art.⁶ Therefore, says Herder, the rewards of the great, of rulers, can never be the first impulse of genius. He believes Ariosto and Racine would have been greater if they had not been restrained by the court taste. He praises the generosity of the King of Denmark in providing for Klopstock, but this encouragement, he says, was in no wise the source of the poet's genius.⁷ Genuine freedom, Herder believes, is a matter of inner experience; just as the poor man can become happy, so the slave in chains can be free.⁸

1) Lebensbild I, 2, p. 211. Herder to Hamann, December, 1766.

2) Suphan I, 23, (1765).

3) Suphan IX, 361, (1779).

4) Suphan IX, 328, (1779).

5) Suphan IX, 329, (1779).

6) Suphan III, 438, (1769).

7) Suphan II, 364.

8) Suphan XIII, 383, (1785).

Once more in the poem "Germania" (1798) Herder gives profound expression to his great love for Germany and his desire for her welfare. He rebukes his countrymen for slumbering while their nation is threatened on all sides. "Would they tarry before a foreign people? Do they no longer respect their forefathers, or value their own heart, their language, everything? He who does not protect himself, is not worthy of freedom. The Germans must not look to the court and church for protection; the duty of preserving the fatherland lies upon the people themselves." In a prophetic vision he sees a glorious come from heaven and join in friendship the hands of two German powers - Austria and Prussia.¹

Thus we see that both Klopstock and Herder were noble German patriots in the best sense of the word, although the talents of statesmanship were denied them. The time was not yet ripe for that political unification of their country which they so longed to see. While among their contemporaries men like Gleim, Fleist, Pamler, J. G. Jacobi and Uz were filled with the spirit of patriotism for their own province, Prussia, and Denis for his country, Austria, Herder and Klopstock were broader in their sympathies and in the love they bore their people and fatherland. All their efforts were directed toward elevating and strengthening the German nation, which in their minds, comprised all the provinces united by racial experience and tradition. The spirit which had burned brightly and warmly in the hearts of Klopstock and Herder, and which had kept alive the feeling of nationalism in the works

1) Suphan XXIX, 210, (1798). Compare XXIV, 551, (1780); XVIII, 345.

and deeds of those men, during a time when material conditions threatened to dismember the German people and to extinguish the spirit of national consciousness; this idealistic protestation unit-ed men like Wilhelm von Humboldt, Novalis, Friedrich Schlegel, Fichte, Adam Müller, Körner, Recht, the Grimm Brothers, Tieck, and finally Bismarck. Although the ultimate problem of political organization was left for the great mind of the nineteenth Century to solve, and unification did not become an accomplished fact till 1871, we can safely say that such a result would have been impossible without the noble endeavors of such great souls as Herder and Klopstock.

PART III

A Treatment of Klopstock's and Herder's Poetic Language

The great movement toward language-reform introduced by Opitz in the seventeenth century and continued by Gottsched in the eighteenth, was purely intellectual in character. Its theories were based largely upon the works of Scaliger and Ronsard, and in its later phases upon Boileau; its chief aim was to develop the German language so as to make it conform to the rules set down by these critics. Language was treated rather from the standpoint of grammatical structure than of artistic perfection, and little or no regard was paid to those peculiar qualities of the German tongue which constitute its original strength and beauty.

Shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century a new school of criticism arose in Switzerland under the leadership of Bodmer and Breitinger, who, together with Alexander Baumgarten, surveyed an entirely new path through the field of pure aesthetics. They attempted to analyze the nature of the beautiful, and gave recognition to the importance of the creative fancy in the production of artistic masterpieces. With all this a new conception of language was born. The theory was established that the language of emotion and imagination differed in its very nature from that of reason and logic, and was entirely independent of arbitrary grammatical rule. Attempts were made also to ascertain what constituted the aesthetic qualities of poetic language. In opposition to the teachings of the Gottsched School, the Swiss critics advocated the reintro-

duction of dialectic and archaic expressions; that is, the revival of those descriptive words and phrases, common in the old popular tongue, which had been eliminated from the literary language. By this theory the vernacular, the "Volkssprache", which since the time of Luther had been utterly ignored, was once more called upon to instill new life into the language of literature; and thus a doctrine which had been held fundamental by all previous works on poetics was annulled.

Finally, in the original genius of Klopstock the new school of criticism found the perfect realization of its tenets. With one powerful stroke this poet proved beyond question the inadequacy of mere grammatical correctness and perfection of form to the creation of a truly poetic language. When, however, Klopstock first attempted to give expression to the vast world of ideas which his genius created, he found that the poetical language conventional with his time was by no means adequate to a full utterance of his sublime thoughts. In order, therefore, to transmit to the hearts of his contemporaries some spark of that pristine fire which burned in his own soul, the poet had to create an entirely new terminology, one determined largely by his own high conception of poetry. We remember that according to Klopstock's belief, art as a revelation of the divine must breathe the spirit of nature and religion; that it is in true art that man's divine nature must try to receive its most perfect expression. What is more natural then, than that we should find the new poetic language created by him pulsating with feeling and emotion, this primary source of all genuine poetry, and animated by the spirit of religion.

Klopstock's problem was to invent a terminology of sufficient elevation to satisfy his lofty conception of art, and at the same time rich enough to give adequate expression to his deep emotional experiences. He had recourse to two main sources. The primary basis of such a language (the poetic possibilities of which had already been recognized by Haller and Bodmer) he found in the enthusiastic religious terms in use among the many devotional sects which had sprung up in the seventeenth century, - sects, indeed, whose spirit was still alive in Klopstock's time, and whose pietistic influence he had himself felt. These mystics had sought satisfaction for their religious cravings in their own hearts, and their language is consequently full of expressions which labor to describe the exuberance of their emotions. Klopstock gave a new interpretation to this language, and imparted to it a new vigor by leading it out of narrow church circles into the broader service of art. His second inspiration for his new creation he found in the world about him. His lyrical temperament was so delicately attuned to nature that words descriptive of her beauties and activities gave adequate expression to the poet's emotional experiences, and to the pictures created by his vivid imagination. Thus, by combining a language descriptive of religious experiences with one descriptive of natural phenomena, and enriching both by his wonderful creative power, Klopstock ultimately found out a vehicle of expression capable of conveying his exalted ideas.

Gottsched and his followers, who were rationalists pure and simple, attempted to defend their critical doctrines against those advanced by the Swiss critics, even in the face

of Klopstock's incontestable demonstration of the new theories. In support of the Gottschedians Schönaich published, in 1754, his work, "Die ganze Aesthetik in einer Nuss, oder Theologisches Wörterbuch ... aus den Accenten der heil. Männer und Barden des itzigen überreichlich begeisterten Jahrhunderts zusammen getragen, und den grössten Wort-Schöpfern unter denselben aus dunkler Ferne geheiligt von einigen demüthigen Verehrern der sehraffischen Dichtkunst". He satirically dedicates the book to the "Geist-Schöpfer, dem Seher, dem neuen Evangelisten, dem Träumer, dem göttlichen St. Klopstocken, dem Theologen" and to Bodmer. The references in the title to "holy men" and to "seraphic poetry" and the titles applied to Klopstock in the dedication indicate that the Gottsched School, of which Schönaich was but the mouth-piece, had scented the mystic origin of the new poetic language. It is apparent from its first page, therefore, that the volume is a bitter satire against the new school of poetry, holding up to ridicule ^{the} language of Haller, Bodmer, and Klopstock. We can thus distinguish, by means of Schönaich's condemnation, that part of Klopstock's language which was an absolute innovation, and by comparing it with the language common to the religious enthusiasts we can determine its final source.

Hamann, who was notoriously inclined toward mysticism, and his pupil, Herder, studied Klopstock's new language; and, as we know, the latter became its greatest interpreter. Young Herder, familiar with a healthy mysticism from early youth, and possessed with a temperament delicately responsive to Klopstock's lyrical nature, absorbed fully the great world of ideas created by the poet's imagination, together with its new ideal of humanity.

We can safely say that Herder's whole inner life was animated from early youth by the same spirit which had previously stirred Klopstock. Whenever his lyrical nature sought expression in verse it adopted the language created by the great poet. Imbued as he was, moreover, with the new spirit of humanity, he introduced young Goethe, in Strassburg (1770-1771), to Klopstock, and thus fired the youthful genius of Germany's greatest lyrical poet with the ardor of the older master. When we consider Klopstock's important position in the history of German literature, and his influence on Germany's greatest literary masters, a study of his language as an expression of his ideas will not seem futile.

The Pietists, in which term I include the various sects of religious enthusiasts and separatists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries showing traces of the Platonic influence, had aimed to attain a heavenly state on earth by concentrating their entire attention on the great beyond. They believed that by shutting out as much as possible the distractions of the world of the senses they could establish an avenue of direct communication with the Divine Spirit ("der Weltgeist" or *spiritus universi*).¹ They spoke of a "Verschlingen und Verschmelzen in Gott", a "überwesentliche Vereinigung", "ungründliche Gleichwerdung Gottes", "Vergöttern, Verwandlung in Gott",² "in Gott versinken",³ "inwendiges Gemüths-Gebet", "überhimmlische Einkehr",

1) Colberg II, 285.

2) Colberg I, 68.

3) Colberg II, 259.

"inwendige Einkehr".¹ All these expressions reveal an attempt to describe a certain mysterious unification of the soul with its Creator. These views and expressions find an echo in Klopstock's ideas as found in the following:

... "ach, der Beruhigung,
Dass meine Seele, Gott, mit dir reden darf" - (An Gott).

"Mit tief anbetendem Staunen
Freu' ich mich" - (Das Anschaun Gottes).

"Das fühlt sie, die betende Seele" - (Messias V, 126).

"Heil mir, die ewig junge Seele
Fliest von Göttergedanken über!" - (Der Abschied).²

Herder, too, would have man seek God in his own heart:

"Sterblicher, blick in dich selbst, da hast du die
höhere Regel,
Die nicht die Welten allein, die auch sich selber re-
gieret".³

However, neither Klopstock nor Herder was a metaphysical speculator, nor was either satisfied to ignore the beauties of the visible world and the inspiration which it gave them. They aspired to commune with universal truth through nature, and not through introspection. Their poetic language is related to the language of the religious enthusiasts, but the world of thought which lies back of it is infinitely nearer the true life than was the narrow conception of the Pietists.

1) Colberg I, 68. Schönaich notes "verschlingen" and "wandeln", ridiculing the last by imposing the meaning "spazierengehen" upon it.

2) Compare: "frommes Gebet" (Salem); "Seufzen des Herzens" - "des Herzens Sprache" (Der Abschied); "stillanbetend" (An Fanny); "tiefanbetend" (Der Abschied; Dem Allgegenwärtigen); "Anbetung" (Der Erbarmer; Die Glückseligkeit aller).

3) Suphan XXIX, 161.

Since it is the divine fire which, according to the Pietists, fills and intoxicates the human mind, we may easily comprehend how fire, flames and similar expressions should come to be employed as metaphors to express the agitation of the God-illumined soul. We find expressions like "Enthusiasmus"¹, "vom verschlingenden eine Unempfindlichkeit und Vergessenheit aller Dinge wirkenden Enthusiasmo", "Zerschmelzung, Einfluss, Entzündung wesentlicher Inflammation".² These terms suggest related expressions used by both Klopstock and Herder when attempting to describe the emotions stirred by the sublime.

At a contemplation of the beauties of nature, Klopstock is moved to express his feelings:

"Hoher Genuss der Schöpfung, wenn wir, von des Denkens Feuer entflammt, sie empfinden, sie erblicken, Hören, Staunen vor ihr"- (Der Unterschied).

When man ("Geist des Staubs") thinks of God "welches Gefühl flammt in ihm!" (Der Selige). In describing the experiences of happiness Klopstock makes use of these phrases expressing warmth of feeling:

"Heil mir, mein Herz glüht, feurig und ungestüm
Bebt mir die Freude durch mein Gebein dahin!" (Der Abschied).

"Er sass, glühend vor Fröhlichkeit" (Aus der Vorzeit).

So also with some of the other emotions:

1) Colberg I, 69 and II, 268.

2) Colberg I, 68. Schönaich ridicules similar expressions: Andachtsbrand, angebrannt, befeuern, Brand, brennen, elektrisch, entflammen, entzünden, Feuer, feurig, Flammenstrom, funkeln, glühen.

... "dass Christen noch einst
 Wir entflammen mit dem Feuer
 Das zu Gott steigt". (Unsre Führsten).

"edel und feuervoll Stümper der Tugend hassen" (Wingolf III)

"Kann was heiliger uns, als ein Gebieter, seyn,
 Der, zwar feurig und jung, dennoch ein Weiser ist" ...
 (Friedensburg)

... "sein feuriges Herz ...
 Seinen brennenden Durst, Freuden ein Freund zu seyn".
 (An Gleim)¹

"Ich will die heisse Wissbegier denn
 Löschen! Sie bleibt; sie ist heilig Feuer" (Wissbegierde).

"Und doch die Wange niemals mit glühender
 Schamvoller Röthe färben? nie feuriger
 Sieht er des Griechen Flug, ausrufen." (Fragen).

"Doch diese bebte, ähnlich, und glühende
 Siegswerthe Röthen überströmten
Flammend die Wang" - (Die beiden Iusen).

"Was that dir, Thor, dein Vaterland?
 Dein spott' ich, glüht dein Herz dir nicht
 Bei seines Namens Schall!" (Wir und Sie).

"Entglüht kein Zorn dir, Dichter?" (Verschiedene Zwecke).

... "allein die letzte
Rache glühet, wie keine
 Sonst, von zerstörender Glut". (Die Rache).

"Sein Antlitz glüht vor Ehrbegier". (Heinrich der Vogler).

Klopstock reveals his delicate musical nature in his description of the influence of music on the emotions and resorts to the same language of feeling.

"Wenn die schnellre Musik in die Versammlung sich
 Ungestüm ergiesst, Flügel der Tänzer hat,
 Und das wildere Mädchen
 Feuervoller vorüberrauscht" - (Die Braut).

1) Compare: "feuriger entgegenjauchzen" (An Gott); "heisse Hallelujahlieder" (An Gott); "entflammen" (Schlachtlied; Mein Vaterland; Der Erbarmer; Agannippe und Phiala); "ein Geist der Patrioten entflamm't der Krieger Schaar (Das neue Jahrhundert); "Flamme im Blick des Adlers (Die Gestirne); "feuriger Blick" (Delphi).

"Doch ein Laut der Liedersprache,
Ein Flammenwort". (Ihr Tod).

"Aber es tönt mächtiger bald in dem Chor fort;
Chöre sind nun in dem Strom schon des Gesanges.
Schon erzittert das Volk, schon glühet
Feuer des Himmels in ihm,
Wonne; das Volk hält sich noch kaum". (Die Chöre).

"Glühet von der Lerche Glut". (Sie).

"Feurig beseetet er die Saiten, und der Felsen lernt's
Denn die Telyn schall".

"Eine Flamme von dem Altar an dem Thron
Ist in unsere Seele geströmt." (Das grosse Halle-
lujah)

"Wenn du durch deinen lebenden Schwung zu dem
Liede dich aufflammst".

(Die Lerche und die Nachtigall).

Inspired by love the poet hopes his music will become even more
passionate:

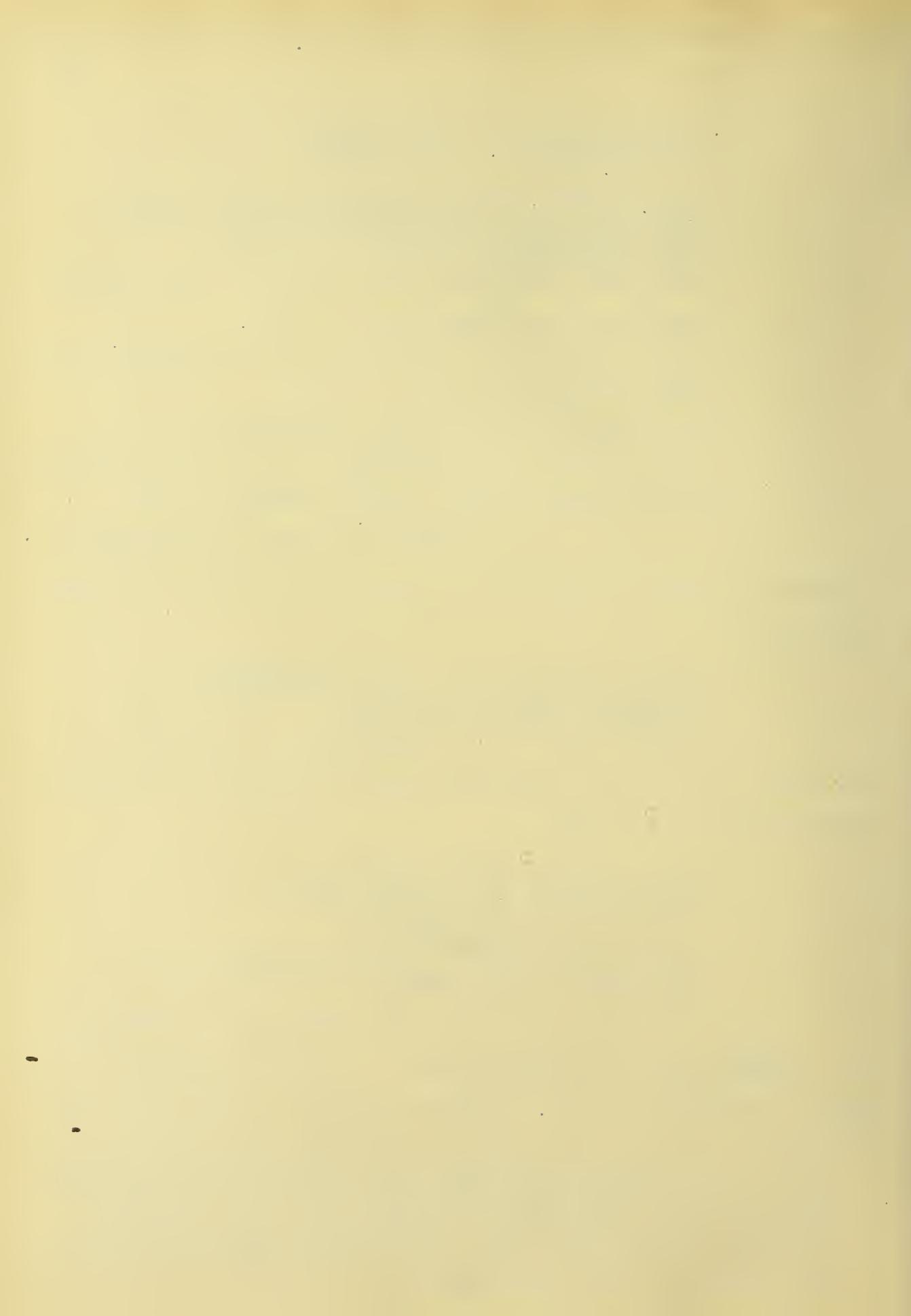
"Von ihr geliebt, will ich dir feuriger
Entgegenjauchzen, will ich mein voller Herz
In heissen Hallelujahliedern,
Ewiger Vater, vor dir ergiessen!" (An Gott).

And again the poet calls upon the highest happiness to instill a
sacred fire into his soul:

"O du, der Seligkeiten höchste,
Ueberströme du meine ganze Seele
Mit deinem heiligen Feuer.
O lass sie, du Seligkeit,
So oft und so hoch die Endliche kann
Aufflammen in Entzückungen! (Der Erbarmen).¹

Herder seems more fond than Klopstock of emphasizing
the "divine fire" in the human heart; at least we find more refer-
ences to it in his poetry. This may perhaps indicate that the

1) Compare: "Nur mein Auge soll's mit schmachtendem Feuer durch-
irren" (Die künftige Geliebte); "mit feurigem Durst trinken"
(Gegenwart der Abwesenden); "feuriger" (Der Rheinwein); "Wie
glüheten wir" (Die Vortrefflichkeit); "mein Herz entglühet"
(Wingolf VI); "glühend nicht aufflammend" (Der Rheinwein);
"um den glühenden Mund" (Die künftige Geliebte); "mein glühendes
Angesicht" (Die Frühlingsfeier).



purely religious view appealed oftener to him. He appears as peace-maker in one verse and appeals to man's divine nature, the source of all his noblest powers:

"Freunde lasst den Zwist!
 Das heilge Feuer auf des Ewigen
 Altar in unsrer Brust, Beredsamkeit,
 Weisheit und Dichtkunst, die dies Feuer entflammt,
 Das es der Menschheit reiner, wärner brenne,
 Und jede Kunst, die besse Zeiten fördert
 Sie alle sind von heiliger Natur
 Und ewger Wahrheit, tausendfältiger
 Verwandlung fähig, und doch stets Dieselbe".

(Suphan XXIX, 217.)

"Beim heilgen Feuer, das Jova in mich goss
 Beim Flammenmeer aus dem es floss ...
 ... du hör' es, der auf Feuertronen
 Entschluss und That mit Gottes Wage wiegt" -
 (Suphan XXII, 266).

"Jetzt wenn sie (die Seele) Göttlich fühlet
ihr hohes Ursprungsfeuer ...
Grosse Gedanken streben
da auf wie Flammenmeere!" (Suphan XXIX, 313.)

... "o fasst
 mich, Feuer! Ich fühl's! es tagt!
 Ja! leben will ich und modern nicht! ...
 Staub bin ich; denn Staub wollt ich seyn! - Doch nah
 am dunklen Feu'rmeer oben gebar sich still
 ein Funke zum Gott mir, der mir glüht
 in jeder Nerv'! Ich fühl's!" (Suphan XXIX, 245).

"Menschenherz, du Feuermeer,
wallend Gottesglut daher" - (XXIX, 438).

"Brennt das, was in mir brennt, als Flamme nur
 des Aschenhaufens in der Erde Dunst?
 O nein, o nein! Der Dunst der Erde flammt
 nicht auf, der Seele Feuer; er vertilgts;
 und Geister fesselt ihre Schwere nicht! - (XXIX, 614).

"Des Mannes Feuer brennt ihm auf sein Herz,
 in seinen Adern quillt der Flammenstrom,
 der früher ihn gen Himmel tragen soll." (XXIX, 562).

- "o Seele! Er!
 in Dich sich hauchte gab Dir seinen Schleier
 voll heller Dunkelheit
 Dir, Heiligstes der Schöpfung, wo sein Feuer
 zum Himmel wallt und streut
 der Allmachtsliebe Funken!" (XXIX, 377).¹

1) Compare: Suphan XXIX, 115, 250, 252, 555; XVIII, 331; I, 256; IV, 368; VIII, 334.

Herder uses the word "glühen" in much the same way as does Klopstock. Instances of its use are:

"wo der mir ein stärker Lied gesungen,
das noch jetzt in meinen Adern glüht". (XVII, 279).

"Du glühst!" wir glühen! - Ich fühl! - Voll bin ich
des Geists des Taumelkelchs! ...
... Ich glüh!

Sie spotten! Die Zunge glüht vor Pfeilen." 1,2.
(Suphan XXIX, 268).

1) Compare: "Feuer" (XXIX, 262, 39, 246, 248); "Feuer der Mitternächte" (509); "Feuermeer" (XXIX 250, 438); "Feuerross" (252); "Feurgebet" (269); "Feurblick" (252); "Feuerströme" (347); "Feurflammen" (401, 634); "Feurig" (252); "Flamme" (492, 160, 159); "Flammen glühn" (599); "Flammenstrom" (207); "Flammenmeer" (313, 460); "Flammenzüge" (322); "Flammennatur" (367); "Flämmchen Freud' und Hoffnung" (487); "flammen" (30, 265, 460); "wildemporflammen" (370); "auffflammen" (228, 322); "flammende Rache" (276); "Lebensquelle, flammend Licht" (641); "anfeuern" (177); "mit Leben entzünden" (599); "Funke" (14, 265); "Fünkchen" (103); "droben glühen schon der Liebe Funken" (172); "Lebensfunk" (204); "Alle Funken des allweiten Aethers" (219); "schwarze Funken sprühn" (243); "Sonnenfunk" (228); "Aethersfunken" (247, 344); "Freundschaft, edelster Funke" (367); "Funken vom ewigen Strahl" (124); "Seelenbrand" (243); "Sommerliebesbrand" (367); "Brand im Herzen" (590); "deines Herzens rege Gluth" (79); "Thränen glühn" (10, 248); "(das Menschenherz) aufbrausend glüht es" (205); "Himmelsgluht (Heiliger Geist)" (46); "glühn" (250, 261, 262, 265, 269, 460, 597); "Gluth" (253, 258); "Jugendglut" (323); "Schmerz glüdt in der Seele" (604); "so singt so lang ihr feurig seid" (412); "jeder Sonnenstrahl von Wonne glüht" (236).

2) This term "glühen" is adopted by Goethe, who probably acquired it from Herder while with him in Strassburg. See Faust's first monologue in Part II, Scene 1.

We will recall that according to Klopstock's conception of the genius the greatness of the artist lay in the fact that he could not alone feel this harmony of soul with God, which is common to the human race, but that in addition he possessed a certain mysterious power which enabled him to embody in lasting form what his divine soul had experienced. Herder's conception of genius we know to have coincided very closely with that of Klopstock. It is significant to note the words each poet used to express his ideas regarding divine inspiration. Klopstock says:

"O Begeistrung! Sie erhebt sich! Feurigeres Blicks,
Ergiesset sich ihr Auge, die Seel' in der Glut!"
 (Teutone).

... "wenn euch nicht Geist ward,
 Dem die Empfindung heißer glüt, wie ihn Bilder entflammen,
 Und in dem, Beherrscher der Flamm' und der Glut, das
 Urtheil
 Unbezaubert den Ausspruch thut - " (Die Rathgeberin).

... "In sie (Lieder) hatt' er der Dichtkunst
 Flammen geströmt aus der vollen Urne". (Wingolf VII).

... "Meinen erhabensten
 Gedanken, lehr' ihn Höheit, führ' ihn
 Wahrheiten zu, die es ewig bleihen,

Dass ich den Nachhall derer, die's ewig sind,
 Den Menschen singe, dass mein geweihter Arm
 Vom Altar Gottes Flammen nehme,
 Flammen ins Herz der Erlösten ströme!" (Dem Erlöser).

"Der Dichtkunst Stund" ... sie führet ... Begeistrung her."¹
 (Wingolf V)

1) Compare: "Begeisterung wird hell" (Wingolf V); "In Begeisterung vertieft und ernstvoll auf Lieder sinnen" (Wingolf VII); "Von der Begeisterung himmlischen Freuden" (Salem); "der begeisterte Bard" (Die Rosstrappe); "Glut in das Herz giessen" (Die Bildhauerkunst u.s.w.); "den Gesang entflammen" (Stintenburg); "Dass sie (Musik und Dichtkunst) mit dauernder Glut mich durchströmte" (Der Bund).

The poet receives his inspiration from nature herself in her most beautiful attire:

"Süss ist, fröhlicher Lenz, deiner Begeistrung Hauch".
(Der Zürchersee).

"Aber nun wandelt an dem Himmel der erhabne Mond
Wolkenlos herauf, nahte die Begeistrung mit ihm".
(Braga).

"Schöne Natur, Begeistrung sey mir dein Anschau".
(Lossreissung).

In his description of genius Herder once employed the very word used by the religious enthusiasts to describe the state of the soul when completely filled by the Divine Spirit. He writes to Hamann in 1766: "Ich gestehe gern, dass ich das Phlegma eines homme d'esprit noch gar nicht mit dem Enthusiasmus des Genius zu verbinden weiss".¹ In another letter, written to Merk, in September 1770, he aims to explain inspiration in a mystical way, not however in the narrow church sense: "Lasst uns, Freunde! uns zusammen drängen und uns nach Herzenslust idealisieren; das jagt Funken durch Seel' und Herz! Wir elektrisiren uns aneinander zur Wirksamkeit, und in der Folge auch immer zum Glücke! Das ist die Inspiration, die wunderbare Schöpferskraft in Belebung der Seelen, wie der elektrische Funke es vielleicht im Blut und Sonne ist."² We will recall in the essay on the ode Herder uses the word "fire" in reference to genius - "Odenfeuer",³ "Feuer des Herrn",⁴ "Dies freche Feuer des Parenthyrsus ist das

1) Lebensbild I, 2, p. 179.

2) Lebensbild III, 1, p. 116. Compare: "so singt, so lang ihr feurig seid", Suphan XXIX, 412.

3) Lebensbild I, 3, a, p. 64.

4) Lebensbild I, 3, a, p. 87.

schöpferische Genie".¹ He says that all true works of art must possess "Feuer" and "Geist".² In 1769 he speaks of a "fiery genius".³

In speaking of their aspiration after heavenly bliss the Pietists used such expressions as "Erhebung des Hertzens zur himmlischen Süssigkeit", "Entzückung und Ohnmacht der Seelen", "hochgepriesene häufige göttliche Entzückung".⁴ Expressions similar to these are made the object of ridicule by Schönaich - herzerhöhend, sich erheben, himmlisch, das Süsse, Entzückung, göttlich, ohnmächtig, wallen, fliessen, giessen. He quotes from Klopstock, "Tief verloren in seiner Entzückung", and tries to make it seem absurd. The Pietists wished to describe the effect on the emotions of an introspective contemplation of soul and God. Klopstock and Herder make use of similar language to give utterance to their feelings of joy and elevation awakened, not by broodings over religion, but by love of man and of the beauties of visible nature. In Klopstock we find:

"Denn sie fühlet sich ganz und giesst Entzückung
In dem Herzen empor, die volle Seele,
Wenn sie, dass sie geliebt wird,
Trunken von Liebe sich's denkt". (An Sie).

"(Die Seele) denkt Gedanken, dass Entzückung
Durch die erschütterte Nerve schauert". (Dem Erlöser).

"Jeder wallende Hauch deiner beseelten Brust
Hebt mich zu den Unsterblichen". (Petrarca und Laura).

"Laura, Laura, mein Geist hebt sich, voll hoher Lust".

(Petrarca und Laura).

1) Lebensbild I, 3, a, p. 89.

2) Lebensbild I, 2, a, p. 96.

3) Suphan IX, 83. He writes to Merk, Sept. 2, 1770: "die elektrische Empfindung im menschlichen Herzen" - Lebensbild III, 1, p. 104.

4) Colberg I, 68.

"Nein, wenn sie nur bewundert
lacht sich die Seele zu schwach". (Der Erbarmter).

"Wie erhöht, Wettherrscher,
Deine Bewunderung den Geist des Staubs!

... welcher Gedank' hebt ihn, denket er dich!
(Der Selige).

"Wie erhebt sich das Herz, wenn es dich,
Unendlicher, denkt!" (Dem Unendlichen).

... "Wie dankbar
Wallt mein freudig Herz in mir". (Der Verwandelter).

As always, the poet sees a manifestation of the Divine Being in nature at the contemplation of the star-lit heavens and experiences a feeling of sublimity.

"O Anblick der Glanznacht, Sternheere,
Wie erhebt ihr! Wie entzückst du, Anschauung
Der herrlichen Welt! Gott Schöpfer;
Wie erhaben bist du, Gott Schöpfer!" (Der Tod).

Klopstock recognizes, too, the wonderful power of music in lifting the listener above the common-place:

"Wonnegefühl hebt sie empor, und es fliessen
Thränen ins Lied. ...
Kraftvoll und tief dringt sie (Musik) ins Herz. Sie
verachtet
Alles was uns bis zur Thräne nicht erhebet,
Was nicht füllt den Geist mit Schauer
Oder mit himmlischer Ernst." (Die Chöre).¹

1) Compare: "Himmlische Freuden" (Der Tod); "dunkles Gefühl der Entzückung" (Die Zukunft); "entzückte Melodie" (Sponda); "mit Graun füllt und Ehrfurcht, der Anblick, mit Entzückung", "das Herz dess, der sich da freut, wo Freud' ist" (Der Vorhof und der Tempel); "mit Entzückung wall' ich im Hain der Palmen" (Unsre Fürsten); "Dass entzückt ... Ihr des beseelteren Blicks Trunkenheit schwamm" (die Barden); "reines Gefühl der Entzückung" (Verschiedene Zwecke); "Mit schimmendem entzücktem Auge" (Die Wiederkehr); "entzückter Genuss" (Die Genesung); "noch mit Entzückung hör' ich der Erde gelindes Rauschen" (Die Genesung des Königs); "entzückende Thränen" (Das neue Jahrhundert); "in Entzückung singen" (Die Gestirne); "aus hellem entzücktem Auge" (Wingolf I); "Thränen flossen aus dem gerührten entzückten Auge" (Wingolf III); "entzückt horchen" (Wingolf V); "dann erzittern von süsser Entzückung die ewigen Seelen" (Salem); "entzückt" (Bardale; Der Verwandelte).

Herder's language in attempting to express the feeling of elevation and of expansion which he experiences at great joy is identical with Klopstock's:

"Ja ewig, ewig! über allen Kreis der Zeit
hoch durch den Zeitstrom aller Sonnenmeere
schwing dich mein Geist - zur Ewigkeit. (XXIV, 235-236).

"Mein edles Herz
schlägt freier, und mein Geist denkt höher auf.
(XXIX, 612)

... "ich schweb' entzückt
auf des Grases Wipfeln, über Blumen und Klee
und beflügelt schweben die Gedanken empor
über Pindus, zu den Höhn des blauen Olympus! (XXIX, 266).

... "fleuch mein Gesang empor!" (XXIX, 234).

"... so steigen hier
Gedanken empor" ... (XXIX, 259).

Music, too, had much the same effect on Herder as it had on Klopstock:

"Sie (Musik) bebt aus Chemoneser Saiten
den zärtsten Silberpfeil in meine Brust.
Ihre Laute bebt; ich bebe
sie hüpf't; ich hüpf'! sie schwebt; ich schwebe!
sie pocht! ich schwimm in Himmelsslust
ach wie schmilzt mein Herz, o Schöpferin!
ganz Harmonie dahin!"

Herder, gifted as he was with the finest musical sensibility, felt the magic power of music in rousing into activity man's inner and better self, and bringing about a feeling of harmony with something that is higher than the common things of the world.

1) Compare: "Himmelsfreuden" (Suphan XXIX, 35); "entzückt den Blick empor wenden" (XXIV, 14); "das Chor der horchenden Entzückten" (87); "entzückt singen" (179); "denn werde ich hoch zu dir entzückt, und singe Dich" (234); "entzückt" (269); "entzückender Festgeruch" (271); "Freundschaft entzückt Haupt und Brust" (284); "mit entzückter Seele" (287); "Ohnmacht der Zerstreuung" (357); "soll Kuckuckswitz die Welt entzücken" (412); "Alle Herzen wallen auf" (485).

"Geistliche Trunkenheit"¹ is another favorite expression used by the religious enthusiasts; Herder and Klopstock, too, employ the term "intoxication" but discard its restricted Pietistic sense. Klopstock says:

... "wenn sie (die volle Seele), dass sie geliebt wird,
Trunken von Liebe sich's denkt!" (An Sie).

"Goldener Traum ... schwebe
Mir vor dem trunkenen Blick" (Die Chöre).

... "wo's von Entzückungen
Taumelnd schwiebt um mein trunknes haupt!"
(Petrarca und Laura).

"Trunkenheit glänzt aus hellem entzücktem Auge".
(Wingoif I).

"Geschwätz trunkner Beredsamkeit". (Die künftige Geliebte).²

The use of the term "Trunkenheit" is not so frequent in Herder; he seems not to have grasped its spiritual meaning, or at least to have preferred an avoidance of the word in that sense. A few instances, however, have been found, the first of which refers to physical intoxication:

"Dir dank ich meine Trunkenheit! ...
ich trank, ward trunken, und erfreut".
"Fluch über die Gelegenheit". XXIX, 275).

"Schau, wie umher der ganze Himmel trunken
Sich spiegelt in des Meeres Angesicht". (XXIX, 172).

"Was alldurchwallend die Natur bewegt, ...
Und dir im Auge, jetzt von Thränen trübe,
Jetzt freudentrunken himmlisch glänzt, ist - Liebe.
(XXIX, 171).³

1) Colberg I, 68.

2) Compare: "trunknes Wiedersehen" (An Gott); "trunken in ihrem Arm" (An Gott); "mit hingesenktem trunknem Blick" (Dem Erlöser); "ihr trunkner Blick schwamm" (An Young); "trunkene Lippe" (An Gleim); "Begeisterung ... o, wie trunken" (Braga); "des beseelten Blicks Trunkenheit" (Die Barden); "wonnetrunknes Auge" (Kaiser Alexander); "trunkner Geist" (Das Denkmal); "andrer Schauer Trunkenheit" (Dem Erlöser); "darf sich taumelnd die Freude freün" (Das Denkmal); "Taumelflug" (Die Rathgeberin); "taumeln" (Wingoif I); "jene trunkene Lust" (An Cidli); "trunkner Blick" (Die Chöre).

3) Compare : Stephan XXIX, 73 - "trunken sehen"; 265 - "taumeln".

Schönaich condemns all words which he finds in the new poetry expressing violent emotions; under these he includes: beben, bejauchzen, erschüttern, Hallelujah, hüpfen, jauchzen, erbeben, Jubelgesang, schauern. As we should expect, these words play an important part in both Klopstock's and Herder's poetry. Let us first quote passages from the older poet:

"Aber ich sah den Propheten! Da liefen, ich kanns nicht erzählen,
Wie's geschah, da liefen mir Schauer durch alle Gebeine!"
(Messias VI, 121).

"Mächtiges Feuer, ein Schauer vom Himmel
Hub ihn empor." (Messias IV, 391).

... "tief in mein Herz hin
Drang ein Schauer wallender Freuden" -(Salem).

"Auch scheint die Natur hier
Ueberall still zu schauern, als wäre Gott wo zugegen."
(Messias V, 653).

"Ein stiller Schauer deiner Allgegenwart
Erschüttert, Gott, mich. Sanfter erbebet mein Herz
Und mein Gebein". - (An Gott).¹

... "Ah, niemals
Werdet ihr durch der Einung Geheimniss
Jede Tiefe des Herzens erschüttern". (Der Bund).

"Wie der trübe, bange, der tieferschüttete Zweifler".
(Der Eroberungskrieg).

1) Compare: "im Schauer namloser Angst" (Messias IV, 852); "dem Schauer stehet das Haar empor" (Die Denkzeiten); "Schauer des ewigen Todes" (Messias V, 611); "Schauer der Nacht" (Messias V, 596); "mit heiligem Schauer vernehmen" (Messias VIII, 325); "ich schaure vor Freude" (Messias VII, 399); "mit freudig schauern dem Danke" (Messias XI, 552); "langsame Schauer" (Messias II, 755); "sanftes Schauers voll" (Messias IX, 1052); "sanfter Ahnung Schauer" (Die Wenigen); "schaurig" (Hermanns Tod. Scene 1). "Schauer des ewigen Todes" (Messias V, 611); "die Erde ... erbebte mit stillem Schauer" (Messias V, 378); "Ein gewaltiger Schauer fasste den Seraph" (Messias I, 148). "der süsse Schauer" (Der Abschied); "ein Schauer von dem Unendlichen" (Der Abschied); "mit heiligen Schauer" (Dem Allgegenwärtigen).

... "ein mir lispelnder Hauch und ein erschütterndes Ach.
Wie das Herz mir empört". (Die künftige Geliebte).

"Erschütterung des Innersten, dass Himmel
 Und Erde mir schwanden!" (An den Erlöser).¹

"Oft um Mitternacht wehklagt die bebende Lippe".
 (Die künftige Geliebte).

... "Mein schwermuthsvoller Gedanke
Bebt noch gewaltig in mir.
 So erbebt' ich, als mich von allen Gedanken der bängste
 Donnernd das Erstmal traf ...
 Dass mein Auge sich dunkel verlor; und das bebende Knie mir
Kraftlos zittert' und sank". (An Ebert).²

"Es fühlen jauchzend, welche du nimmlisch schufst
 Die hohen Engel ... die Liebe!" (An Gott).³

"Von ihr geliebet, will ich die feuriger
Entgegenjauchzen, will ich mein volles Herz
 In heissen Hallelujaliedern,
 Ewiger Vater, vor dir ergiessen!" (An Gott).

In Herder, too, we find these same expressions in the
 description of the more violent emotions:

... "ich schaudre, schaudrend
 wach ich, und um mich Nacht!" (XXIX, 231).

1) Compare: "Erschütterung seiner Seele" (Der Abschied; Die Stunden der Weihe); "hellere Lippe singend erschüttere das Herz" (Die Musik); "der Erschütterte" (Der Segen).

2) Compare: "mit bebender Stimme der Liebe" (Salem); "dreimal erbebstest du (Herz)" (Petrarca und Laura); "die Unendlichkeit durch den Umkreis ihrer Gefilde nach" (Dem Erlöser); "die eherne Brust bebt ihm" (Die Welten); "bebende Thränen" (Das neue Jahrhundert); "ich bebe vor Lust" (Hermann und Thusnelda).

3) Compare: "Das grosse Hallelujah"; "jauchzende Jugend der Liebe" (Salem); "Jubel" (Der Abschied); "Hallelujah" (Der Abschied); "jauchzen" (Heinrich der Vogler; Der Zürchersee; Dem Erlöser); "Jubel" (An Young; Für den König); "Hallelujah" (Dem Allgegenwärtigen; Die Frühlingsfeier; Der Erbarmer; Die Genesung des Königs); "Jubelchöre" (Die Frühlingsfeier).

"Wie schauderts hier! Wie helle scheint
der hoide Freund der Träume!
Hör' Daphne, hör' ein Wunderlied
im Schauder dieser Bäume!" (XXIX, 305).

"Sohn schaudernder mitternacht". (XXIX, 341).

"... die Nacht schaudervoll". (XXIX, 52).

"Allmächtiger Schauder dringt durch alle Wesen". (XXIX, 115).

"Wer bin ich? Alles erwacht in mir! Mein Geist! ...
Höhen ... Tiefen! --- ich schaudre!" (XXIX, 258).

"Gott ist um mich! Hier fühlt die Seele einen Tropfen von dem
Schauder, der sie durchströmt, wenn sie, als ein neugeschaffner
Engel, einst vor Gott tritt!" (Lebensbild I, 2, p. 82).

"Schauer klang ihm mächtig ewig ins Innre". (XXIX, 340).¹

"... O hör's allmächtige Stimme
die mir auch diese Zeugenwelt,
ich seh und heb, gewiss vor Augen stellt:
Ich beb: der Richter, Engel, ich! - ich höre:
Es donnert - um mich rauschts, wie Heere:
in mir; wie still? Gott? Engel, ich ich höre
Erbebe Herz und schwöre." (XXIX, 267).

" - mit Beben
der Freude starb Roms Patriot!" (XXIX, 33).

"die Laute bebt und singt -" (XXIX, 62).^{2,3}

1) Compare: "schaudernd" (XXIX, 141, 16, 10, 310); "tiefschau-
dernd" (268); "Schaur" (XXVIII, 41); "Gottes Schauer" (XXIX, 376);
"heiliger Schaur", (257); "kalte Schauer" (358); "Todeschauer"
(358); "Schauder" (24); "schaudern" (42, 1, 6); "Prophetenschau-
der" (1); "schauert" (504); "der Gottheit Schatten winken ... sein
Abhauch, Seele, winkt mir Schauer auf Schauer schon" (378);
"ewge schaudernde kalte Nacht" (327); "Heldenschaur" (330);
"Abschiedsschauer" (483).

2) Compare: "beb'en" (XXIX, 10, 25, 234, 460); "Herz bebt" (34);
"bebend" (41); "Zarte Laute mit ihrem sanften Beben" (152); "mit
Beben erhört' ichs" (377); "Lippe bebt im Seufzen" (501).

3) Otto Lyon gives but a few passages from Goethe which show the
use of Schauder and schaudern; many more could be found.

The word "erschüttern" is not a favorite term in Herder; on the other hand he seems fond of the word "hüpfen", rarely, if ever, found in Klopstock.

"So gehn am Auferstehungsfeste
Aus Asche Leiber auf,
Und hüpfen froh ums Grab in Stralenrüstung:
So hüpf - der Seher siehts! - so hüpfst du Stadt
Bald, statt des Greuels der Verwüstung,
Um eine neue Stadt!" (XXIX, 15).

"Die Luft durchschallen Engellieder
Und dreimal hüpf die Erde wider
und jauchzt Hallelujah". (XXIX, 226).

"O wie hüpfet das Herz mir ...". (XXIX, 677).¹

Terms descriptive of the voice during moments of great happiness occur very frequently in Herder. This may be accounted for by his very delicate musical nature. The voice becomes an interpreter of the emotions.

"Da jauchzte Katharinens Welt,
Und bebte nicht mehr". (XXIX, 25).

"... Sieh Palmen, dir errungen!
Er siehts und jauchzt und stirbt;
O wer jauchzt ihm nicht nach -". (XXIX, 269).

"Denn wenn ihm Morgensterne jauchzen,
Und Erden hüpfen, und die Jahrzeit singt:
Hört er im festlichen Concert der Sphären
Noch gern dein wimmernd Lied". (XXIX, 16).²

As poets and true philosophers of the human emotions both Herder and Klopstock describe the darker side of man's inner experiences, as well as the bright and happy side. The language

1) Suphan XXIX, 252 - "Denn ich sing (die lyrische Muse) hüpf alles ...".

2) Compare: "Hallelujah" (XXIX, 13); "Jubel" (13, 228); "jauchzen" (16, 17, 30, 248, 252, 499); "Freudenton" (31); "Ton der Freude" (78). Like Klopstock, Herder is fond of the adjective "silber" in describing sound; thus: "Silberklang"(97, 98); "Silberton" (104, 170, 174); "Silberlaut" (524, 92).

which was necessary to give utterance to the melancholy vein in man's nature is just as offensive to Schönaich as are the more enthusiastic terms. He forgets that "melancholy" marks the transition from the one-sided intellectualism of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to a new life in which the feelings find their proper place. He criticizes the words melancholisch, ruhen, lallen, weinen, verstummen, Thränen, empfinden, seufzen, stammeln, Dunkel, still, mitternächtlich, all of which occupy a prominent place in our two poets.¹ Let us first treat Klopstock:

"Ebert, mich scheucht ein trüber Gedanke vom blinkenden
Weine
tief in die Melancholie!" (An Ebert).

"Thränend wandt' ich von ihm mein melancholisches
Müdes Auge dem Dunkeln zu." (Petrarca und Laura).

"Dein mitweinender Ton, dein melancholisch Ach, ..." (Petrarca und Laura).

"Einsam und wehmuthsvoll
Und still und weinend irr' ich und suche dich".
(Wingolf IV).

"Als wir an jenen traurigen Abenden,
Um dich voll Wehmuth still versammelt, ..." (Wingolf V).

"... Mein schwermuthsvoller Gedanke
Bebt noch gewaltig in mir". (An Ebert).

"Nicht jene Schwermuth, die ich an deiner Brust
Verstummend weinte ..." (Der Abschied).²

1) Konrad Burdach in his "Faust und Moses" asserts that the following terms are of mystic origin: fühlen, Gefühl, dunkel, lallen, still, Stille, Einfalt, rein, Reinheit, dumpf, Dumpfheit, heilig, Mittelpunkt, All, Fülle, golden, Athem, atmen, etc.

2) Compare: "Stumme Wehmuth" (Salem); "schwermuthsvoll" (An Fanny); "Schwermuth" (Der Abschied); "Wehmuth" (Der Abschied; Siona); "wehmüthiges Lied" (Die künftige Geliebte); "wehmuthsvoller Gedanken" (Friedrich der Fünfte II); "Gedanke voll Nacht" (Friedrich der Fünfte II).

Klopstock recognizes that the voice betrays the inner emotions, and hence in describing sadness, despondency, and melancholy he speaks of seufzen, stammeln, verstummen.

"... Jüngling, ... der seiner Einsamkeit Tage Fühlt und seufzend ihr Ende verlangt ..." (Salem).

"Wo kein mütterlich Ach, bang bei dem Scheidekuss Und aus blutender Irust geseufzt ..." (Der Lehrling der Griechen).

"... aber nun redeten Frohe Seufzer und Thränen nur". (Petrarca und Laura).¹

In this verse we see how the poet tries to show the close relation between joy and sorrow. We find him doing this constantly; besides presenting us with the highest joy and deepest sorrow, he gives us descriptions of a middle state, wherein both emotions merge and become one. This, later, becomes a fundamental thought in Herder's philosophy, and as such finds recurrent expression in his prose and poetry.

We find instances of the word "stammeln" in Klopstock:

"Schlafend sieht sie den Jüngling, wie er in Thränen zer-fliesset,
Und mit bebender Stimme die Liebe
Endlich stammelnd ihr sagt, dann wieder in Thränen zer-fliesset
Und mit stummer Wehmuth ihr flehet." (Salem).

"... halb stammelnder Blick voll unaussprechlicher Reden ..." (Die künftige Geliebte).

"... So soll meine Seele dich denken,
Dich empfinden mein Herz, meine Lippe dich stammeln". (Der Erbarmen).

1) Compare: "seufzend" (An Giseke; Petrarca und Laura); "Seufzer" (Die künftige Geliebte); "dieser seufzender Mund" (Die künftige Geliebte); "Seufzen seines Herzens" (Der Abschied).

"Er (wie stammeln wir ihn), der Unaussprechliche ..."
 (Teruhigung).¹

"Ebert, verstummt du nicht hier?" (An Ebert).

"Wer mehr empfand, blieb unbeweglich stehen,
Verstummt und Weint' erst spät." (Die Königen Luise).

"... die verstummende Seele
 Fasst dich, Gedanke, nicht mehr!" (An Ebert).²

Herder, like Klopstock, gives utterance to his feelings of melancholy.

"du Stimme, die in Nachtmelankolien
Gespensterfurchtbar Rechnung mit mir hält ..." (Suphan XXIX, 267).

"Lass uns weinen! ... Seelenvoller und himmlischer
 ein Strom der Wehmuth
 Nie spricht lauter die Lipp' als wenn sie bebt
unaussprechlich bebt im Seufzen!" (XXIX, 501).³

Instead of the word "stammeln", which might be called a favorite with Klopstock, Herder employs the term "lallen" with practically the same meaning.

"... Volk, verstehst es nicht
 Was da aus Blick und Zunge bricht
 Und 'Mutter' lallt im tiefsten Schmerz ..." (XXIX, 40).

"ich lall' Jehovah nach und bete an! ..." (XXIX, 237).

"denen ich voll ... nachgelallt.
 oft benezi mit heissen Jugendjahren." (XXIX, 280).⁴

1) Compare: "unempfundene Gebete stammeln" (Der Abschied); "Töne der Menschen herabzustammeln" (An Gott); "stammelnd besingen" (Friedrich der Fünfte II); "stammelnde Freude" (Gegenwart der Absessenden); "Dank aus des Herzens Innerstem stammeln" (Die Genesung des Königs); "die Stimme der Natur stammeln" (Der Hügel und der Hain); "der Seraph stammelte" (Dem Erlöser).

2) Compare: "Verstummend weinen" (Der Abschied); "verstummen" (Wink); "stilles Stammeln" (An Gott).

3) Compare: Suphan XXIX, 500 - "süsse Wehmuth".

4) Compare: "lallen" (Suphan XXIX, 17, 235, 244).

In common with Klopstock Herder makes frequent use of "seufzen", "stumm" and "verstummen".

"Die Nachtigall seufzt' über seinem Haupt
Ihr Lied der Liebe ..." (XXIX, 205).

"Ungehört
Erklang Dein Seufzen in ihr Herz". (XXIX, 208).

"Wo bist du - Zärtlicher - den mein Gedanke küsstet
nach dem mein Seufzer seufzt, und stille Sehnsucht brennt".
(XXIV, 232).

"Die Seele wendet
sich in sich selbst und wärmet sich
mit Seufzen, sich mit einer warmen Thräne ---" (XXIX, 510).

"O du, in Einem grossen Seufzer
gen Himmel ziehend! ..." (XXIX, 303).¹

"Stumm
Ist alles um mich her; ach so verstummt ..." (XXIX, 204).

"soll stumm denn Eines herben Falles
ich Alle sehn
Da sterben?" (XVII, 505).

"Ein hohes Loblied
Dem der Sturm verstummet ..." (XXIX, 219).^{2,3}

A marked sign of the state of deepest agitation which had suddenly seized man and the consequent recognition given once more to man's emotional nature in the eighteenth century is the frequent mention in the literary works of that period of weeping and tears. This tendency has frequently been misinterpreted;

1) Compare: "seufzen" (XXIX, 174); "hoffen und seufzen" (450); "seufzen in Schmerz" (550); "Empfindung seufzte" (233); "Menschenseufzer und Bruderthräne" (525); "stummen ersten Seufzer wiederfodern" (502); "nie spricht lauter die Lipp' als wenn sie bebt unaussprechlich bebt im Seufzen" (501); "Seufzerlein" (498); "seufzend liegen" (204); "verseufztes Jahr" (150).

2) Compare: "stummes Bild" (XXIX, 502); "die Lippe webt wie stummer, ein Seufzerlein noch" (499); "verstummt" (210, 226).

3) Otto Lyon quotes a few passages from Goethe which show the use of Stammeln, unaussprechlich, Wehmuth, verstummt, dämmert, wärmen. Pages 46f.

even a physiological explanation has been advanced. This extreme form of so-called sentimentalism is but a transitional stage from an age of pure intellectualism, where reason alone ruled, to a period in which the feelings were again to play a part in life, and heart and mind were to work together. As we should expect, tears occupy a prominent place in the works of both Klopstock and Herder, although the latter is less extreme in his fondness for them. Frequently, too, joy and sorrow are mingled, and we read of "tears of joy". Thus Klopstock says:

"David hörte der Mutter
Freudeweinendes Lied". (Messias XIX, 496).

"Du bist Christus ... dieses sagt' er, und weinte vor Freude". (Messias III, 166)

"Er fühlt' ihn nicht, weinte,
Weinete laut, mit der Wehmut Schauer auf Wehmutsschauer,
Dass ihm die ganze Seele zerfloss". (Messias XVII, 38).

"Verstumme!
Denn du vermagst nicht, o du der wehmüttönenden Harfe
Leisester Laut, das erste Stammeln der Mutter zu weinen!"
(Messias XII, 383).

"Könnt ich jetzt weinen, so weint' ich ihn ..."
(An meinen Bruder Viktor Ludwig).¹

"Ach, so werd' ich um dich mein ganzes Leben durchweinen".
(Selmar und Selma).

1) Compare: "Freude weinen" (Danklied); "freudeweinend" (Messias XV, 322; X, 367; XIX, 723); "lächelte weinend" (Messias IV, 723); "Dank ausweinen" (Messias XI, 1439); "von der Liebe froh weinen" (Petrarca und Laura); "das Herz weint" (Messias X, 488; "vor Gram und Zorn weinen" (Messias III, 623); "das Elend weinen" (Messias X, 513); "voll Jammer weinen" (Messias XII, 583); "das Mitteid weint" (Epigram 104); "das Leben ist ein langes Leide des Weinens" (Messias XIII, 679); "die Natur weint" (Messias V, 629); "die Wolke weint" (Messias III, 616); "Die Cedern und die Bächen weinen" (Messias V, 98); "die Engel weinen" (Messias XII, 301); "Wir Deutschen weinen kurze Zeit, aber wir erinnern uns lang" (Hermanns Tod, Scene 14.).

"Sahst du die Thräne, welche mein Herz vergoss" - (Wingolf V).

"Habt ihr Thränen, die ganz des Guten Innerstes röhren,
Thränen des tiefsten Grams, blutige Thränen: so weint!"¹
(Nantes)

In Herder we find:

"Nach manchem voller Müh' und Sehnen
Verzeufzten Jahr
Umarmten sich in frohen Thränen
Ein liebend Paar." (XXIX, 150).

"Die Thräne, die dir reine Liebe weiht" (XXIX, 178).

"Denn in mir weint mein Herz vor Unmut - " (XXIX, 196).²

This rare use of the word tears or even "weinen" in Herder as compared with its abundance in Klopstock and its reappearance in Goethe, is quite worthy of note. The spirit of exaggerated melancholy has become less vivid in Herder; it is still alive in him, but is no longer prone to seek such an outward manifestation.

We have said that his intimacy with nature furnished Klopstock with an important source for those descriptive terms which were to give utterance to the great emotions he experienced.

1) "Die Seele vergiesst Thränen" (An Giseke); "Thränen bewegen die Seele" (Messias IV, 256); "Thränen voll Seele, dankende Thränen" (Messias XI, 328); see further: Messias II, 129; II, 754; XI, 566; XII, 52; XV, 469; XII, 743; XVII, 343; IV, 257; XVIII, 173; IV, 402; V, 514; VI, 591; IX, 105; XVIII, 704; IV, 1062; IV, 770; XIV, 1258; XV, 355; IX, 166; X, 646; XI, 1381; VI, 357; XI, 1186; IV, 904; III, 690; XIV, 212; VIII, 480; XIII, 682; X, 299; I, 538; I, 698; III, 83; XX, 959; IV, 341; II, 126; Salem; Die Lehrstunde; An Cidli; Die Chöre; Gegenwart der Abwesenden; An Young; Die Genesung des Königs; Der Abschied; An Ebert; An Giseke; Die künftige Geliebte; Friedrich der Fünfte.

2) Compare: "Freude Thränen" (XXIX, 188, 361, 523); "Thräne röhrt nicht" (243); "Thränenblick" (512); "Liebethränen Blick" (497); "Thränen der Dankbarkeit" (361); "Thränen ausströmen" (483); "lass dir Thränen danken" (15); "er scherzt dir Thränen zu" (196); "Thränenblut" "heisse Jugendzähren" (280); "mit Thränen läullen" (281); "bittere Thränenflut" (346); "menschlichfreundliche Thränen" (352); "freudeweinen" (17); "vor Liebe weinen" (33)

Schönaich, here too, aids us in determining which expressions were new, and which offered no appeal to the minds of the adherents of the old view of things. He attacks the expressions, Abend (and its compounds), Abglanz, ätherisch, bestrahlen, blitzen, dämmern, Dämmerung, Donner, donnern, Dunkel, elektrisch, Frühling, golden, Harmonie, hell, himmlisch, Leben, Licht, Luft, mitternächtlich, Morgen, Mutter Natur, nächtlich, Sommernacht, Natur, Öde, Schöpfung, Silberton, Sonne, Stürmen, Tropfen, wolkenlos. All these terms are used by Klopstock and by Herder in their descriptions of nature and also in reference to their own emotions. The most important will be given consideration here.

Night, and especially mid-night, was a time of inspiration for both men, and both celebrate it again and again in their verse. Klopstock sings:

"Glanznacht, O Anblick der Sternheere,
Wie erhebt ihr! Wie entzückst du, Anschaung
Der herrlichen Welt! Gott Schöpfer;
Wie erhaben bist du, Gott Schöpfer!" (Der Tod).

And again in "Die Sommernacht":

"Wenn du Schimmer von dem Monde nun herab
In die Wälder dich ergiesst, und Gerüche ...
In den Kühlingen wehn.
So umschatten mich Gedanken an das Grab
Der Geliebten, und ich seh' in dem Walde
Nur es dämmern ..."¹

1) Compare: "Labyrinte der Nacht" (Wingolf IV); "Mitternacht" (Wingolf V; Fragen; Das Anschaun Gottes; Der Borhof und der Tempel; "oft um Mitternacht wehklagt die bebende Lippe" (Die künftige Geliebte); "trostlos durchweinte Mitternächte" (Der Abschied); "Nacht" (Die Gestirne; Der Erbarmer); "Sommernacht" (Die frühen Gräber); "mitternächtliche Stunde" (Salem); "Stille Nacht" (Furcht der Geliebten); "schattige kühle Nacht" (Die Stunden der Weihe); "eingehüllet in Nacht" (Friedrich der Fünfte II); "geheimnisvolle Nacht" (Dem Allgegenwärtigen); "traurige Nacht" (Der Verwandelte); "ewige Nacht" (Der Eislauf); "dunkle Nacht" (Selmar und Selma); "Schimmer der Sommermondnacht" (Der Hügel und der Hain); "schimmernde Mitternacht" (Der Kamin); "Graun der Mitternacht" (Die Erinnerung); "Stunde der Mitternacht" (Friedrich der Fünfte); "Nacht der Welt" (Dem Allgegenwärtigen).

In nature Klopstock finds the Creator; for him nature and God are one, and this universal spirit fills his soul and finds expression in his poetry.

"Ich hebe mein Aug' auf und seh',
 Und siehe, der Herr ist überall! ...
Mit heiligem Schauer
 Brech' ich die Blum' ab;
 Gott machte sie,
Gott ist, wo die Blum' ist.
Mit heiligem Schauer fühl' ich der Lüfte Wehn,
 Hör' ich ihr Rauschen: es hiess sie wehn und rauschen
 Der Ewige. Der Ewige
 Ist, wo sie säuseln, und wo der Donnersturm die Ceder
stürzt."
 (Dem Allgegenwärtigen).

"Also trink' ich die reinere Luft,
 Und ein sanftes frohes Gefühl des Lebens berauscht mich."

"Wie erhöht, Weltherrscher,
 Deine Bewunderung den Geist des Staubs!" (Der Selige).

The term "Weltherrscher" recalls the "Weltgeist" of the Pietists and the later use of it by Herder. In "Das Grosse Hallelujah" Klopstock refers to God as "der Hocherhabene, der Erste, und der Vater der Schöpfung". The poet uses the word "Natur" as synonymous with God.

"... So wahr die Natur kein edleres Herz nicht
 Ohne den heiligsten Trieb Derer, die ewig sind schuf!"
 (Die künftige Geliebte).

"Dann trennt kein Schicksal mehr die Seelen,
 Die dueinander, Natur, bestimmt". (An Fanny).¹

1) Compare: "Natur, dich hört' ich im Unermesslichen herwandeln . . . Gedankenvoller, tief in Entzückungen verloren schwiebt bei dir die Natur. . . . Aus allen goldnen Zeiten begleiten dich, Natur, die Dichter" (Wingolf VIII); "Ach, warum, o Natur, warum, unzärtliche Mutter, gabest du zum Gefühl mir ein zu biegsames Herz" (Die künftige Geliebte); "voller Einfalt, wie du Natur" (Petrarca und Laura); "singe . . . was die Natur dich lehrt" (Die Braut); "Natur gab mir Gefühl zur Tugend" (Die künftige Geliebte); "Danklied der Natur - die Natur singt Dem, welcher sie schuf" (Die Gestirne); "die Stimme der Natur stammeln" (Der Hügel und der Hain); "Stimme der rauhen Natur - seelen-voller Natur" (Der Hügel und der Hain); "die Natur schrieb in das Herz sein Gesetz ihm" (Aesthetiker).

"Schön ist, Mutter Natur, deiner Schöpfung Pracht, ..." (Der Zürchersee)

"Auch hier stand die Natur, da sie aus reicher Hand
Über Hügel und Thal lebende Schönheit goss, ..." (Friedensburg)

The darkness of night furnishes a symbol for some of Klopstock's ideas, and the words dunkel, das Dunkle, are frequently found in his poetry to express a vague state of uncertainty, hesitancy or depression.

"Thränend wandt' ich von ihm (Mond) mein melancholisches
Müdes Auge dem Dunklen zu." (Petrarca und Laura).

"Dich sucht, Beste, mein einsames,
Mein ühlend Herz, in dunkler Zukunft ..." (Wingolf IV)¹

Twilight furnishes another motive for the poet.

"Euch, Stunden, grüss' ich, welche der Abendstern
Still in die Dämmerung mir zur Empfindung bringt."
(Die Stunden der Weihe).

"Tief in die Dämmerung hin sah es und suchte dich,
Seiner Thränen Genossin, auf,
Dich des nächtlichen Hains Sängerin, Nachtigall!"
(Petrarca und Laura).

"Wenn die Strahlen vor der Dämmerung nun entfliehn,
und der Abendstern:
Die sanfteren, entwölkten, die erfrischenden Schimmer nun
Nieder zu dem Haine der Barden senkt, ..." (Thuiskon).²

"Sieh' den ruhenden See, wie sein Gestade sich,
Dicht vom Walde bedeckt, sanfter erhoben hat,
Und den schimmernden Abend
In der grünlichen Dämmerung birgt". (Friedensburg).

1) Compare: "dunkle Worte" (Allgegenwärtigen).

2) Compare: "Ich seh' in Wingolfs fernen Hallen - Tief in der schweigenden Dämmerung" (Wingolf V); "in dämmernder Fern" (Wingolf V); "tief in die Dämmerung hin" (Petrarca und Laura); "der Abend dämmer't" (Edone); "fern in der Dämmerung des Hains" (Wingolf VII); "der Dämmerung Stern" (Die künftige Geliebte); "kaum noch sichtbare Dämmerung" (Zwei-Johanneswürmchen).

"Es sank die Sonne, Dämmerung kam, der Mond
Ging auf, beglisternd funkelte Hesperus ..."
 (Wissbegierde)

Thunder has often inspired Klopstock:

"Schon hat den Geist der Donnerer ausgshaucht,
 Schon wälzt sein Leib sich blutig im Rheine fort, ..."
 (Wingolf II).

"... Gott der Donner" (Wingolf I).

"Wenige nur, ach, Wenige sind,
 Deren Aug' in der Schöpfung
 Den Schöpfer sieht, Wenige, deren Ohr
 Ihm in dem mächtigen Rauschen des Sturmwinds hört,
 Im Donner, der rollt, oder im lispegenden Bache,
 Unerschaffner, dich vernimmt!" (Dem Allgegenwärtigen).

"(Das Gehör): Mich, dem des Hains Säuseln ertönt und der
 Quelle
 Stimmchen, der Sturm und der Donner und das Weltmeer ..."
 (Der Geschmack).

"Denn Jehovah redet!
 Zwar durch den rollenden Donner auch,
 Durch den fliegenden Sturm und durch sanftes Säuseln."
 (Der Erbarmer).¹

Just as midnight and twilight force their beauty upon Klopstock

and inspire him, so too does the dawn of morning spread her charms before him.

"Schön wie die junge Morgenröthe,
 Heiter und sanft, wie die Sommermondnacht?" (Wingolf II).

"O Bild, das jetzt mit den Fittingen der Morgenröthe schwebt -"
 (Der Hügel und der
 Hain)

 1) Compare: "Donnergeräusch" (Die Vergeltung); "Donnerrede" (Der Abschied); "des Donners Auge" (Für den König); "Welcher Donner gibt mir Stimme" (Die Welten); "Donner entstürzt den Thron" (Die Gestirne); "ein Gedanke trifft donnernd" (An Ebert); "Unschüttender Donner des Herrn" (Die Frühlingsfeier); "Donnersturm" (Die Musik).

"O du, das uns mit jeder fröhlichen Hoffnung umlächelt,
 Festliches erstes Jahr,
 Mit dem Flügel der Sommernorgenröthe
 Schwebst du dem Tage voran!" (Das neue Jahrhundert).

"Dennoch glaubt' ich - und, ach, Wonne war mir,
Morgenröthlicher Glanz der goldne Traum, ..." (Mein Irrthum)

"Ein hoher Genius der Menschlichkeit
Begeistert dich.
Du bist die Morgenröthe
 Eines nahenden grossen Tags." (Der jetzige Krieg)¹

The art of music, with its law of harmony, gives birth to the thought in Klopstock's mind that a similar law of harmony governs the play of all human faculties, the perfect unison of which would make the complete man. As early as 1747 he recognizes in his friend, Ebert, his ideal; and he sings of him:

"Dir schlägt ein männlich Herz auch! Dein Leben tönt
 Mehr Harmonien, als ein unsterblich Lied." (Wingolf VI).

A year later he says of his old teacher, Gellert:

"Wenn in des edelmüthigen Gellert harmonischem Leben
 Jede Saite verstummt ..." (An Ebert).

On the final day of reckoning the poet believes this perfect harmony of all things will be brought about.

"Was in der Dinge Lauf jetzt missklingt,
 Tönet in ewigen Harmonien!" (An Fanny).

Thus he believes the final purpose of the universe is the happiness of all beings:

"... Zu der Schöpfung letztem Zweck, der Seligkeit Aller."
 (Beruhigung).

1) "die Morgenröthe" (Der Geschmack).

Herder quite as joyfully as Klopstock sings loud praises to the night which fills him with thoughts of a higher world and brings rest to his heart:

"Komst Du wieder, heilige, stille Mutter
Der Gestirn' und himmlischer Gedanken,
... neiget sich ernattet
Meine Bilder-überfüllte-Seele,
Harrend, dass Dein sanfter Schwamm sie lösche,
Sie mit Bildern andrer Welten tränke,
Und mein lechzend Herz mit Ruhe labe. ...
Weite Nacht umfasset meine Seele!
Meere der Unendlichkeit umfangen
Meinen Geist, die Himmel aller Himmel! ...
Hohe Nacht, ich knei vor Deinem Altar!" (XXIX, 218).¹

Herder uses "dunkel" "Dämmerung" and "Donner" as does Klopstock:

"Vom schönen Land bin ich verbannt;
In dunkler Ferne dämmert's kaum ..." (XXIX, 605).

"schlägt nie für mich
Ein Herz, das meinen Gram versteht,
Durchs dunkle Leben mit mir geht?" (XXIX, 605).

"... Wer bin ich,
dass ich hinein in jenes Dunkel seh, ..." (XXIX, 556).

"... sein Nichts voll Dunkel schrecket ..." (XXIX, 255).

"Sah Seelentief' und Höhn, ihr tiefes Werden
und Seyn von Licht zu Licht,
vom dumpfen Anschau'n hier auf dunkler Erden
bis An - zu Angesicht ..." (XXIX, 378).²

"Bleib' bei uns, Herr, verlass' uns nicht,
führ' aus der Dämmerung uns zum Licht ..." (XXIX, 632).

1) "Mitternachtsgedanken" (XXIX, 8, 494); "Mitternacht" (243, 249, 449, 490, 489, 511); "Nacht" (13, 231, 247); "kalte Mitternacht" (245); "Nachtvoll" (249); "oft soll es uns bei Mitternacht hier schaudern" (312); "der Mitternacht Gestalten" (323); "Mutter Nacht" (324); "Mitternachts-Dunkel" (341); "Sohn schaudernder Mitternacht" (341); "hohe Graun der Nacht" (352); "Schöpfungs-Mitternachts-Gedanken" (352); "Dämmernacht" (369); "Gesang der Nacht" (433); "Die Stimme zur Mitternacht" (464); "Graun der Mitternacht" (509); "tiefe Mitternacht" (546).

2) Compare: "dunkel" (XXIX, 177); "heiliges Dunkel" (10); "wie ihn ... Dunkel fasste" (10); "dort auf wüstem, dunklem Meer" (437); "Dunkelheit" (594).

"So lange Nacht und Tag sich mischt,
Und was der Himmels Sterne segnen,
Wird in der Dämmerung erfrischt
Mit Liebe Liebe sich begegnen." (XXIX, 125).¹

"Des Herren Wink sprach Ja! einsylbicht lallten
Des Zornes Donner nach das Ja! ...
und ich - bin Mensch, auf dem der Donner hing ..." (XXIX, 236)

"Und wie Er starb, da halber Säklen Schmerzen
vereint ihn fassten, innres Nerven³¹
wie Blut auskochten, und herauf zum Herzen
als Sieger donnerten, ..." (XXIX, 10).

"Und Gott? blitzt er? donnert er?" (XXIX, 235).²

Herder uses the figure of dawn frequently.

"Ist Mensch und Morgenroth das schönste dieser Erden,
was wirst Du - beider Bild - erst in der andern werden!" (XXIX, 535).

"Die Sonn' ist da! Die Morgenröthe
Verröhret ..." (XXIX, 43).

"Die Morgenröthe lacht" ... (XXIX, 52).

"Da ging ihnen auf der Freude,
Auf der Hoffnung Morgenröthe ..." (XXIX, 164).

"... schöne Morgenrosen
mit der Thräne in dem Busen
und ihr Auge Morgenroth! ..." (XXIX, 316).

"... Zephyr kehrt zurück
Zum jungen Morgenroth ..." (XXIX, 357).³

1) Compare: "Ihr Anblitz schien die Dämmerung aufzuhellen" (171); "holde Dämmerung" (205); "Nebel und Dämmerung" (556); "rothes dämmerndes Auge" (518); "in dunkler Ferne dämmerts kaum" (605); "noch dämmerts tief" (543); "Dämmerung" (507).

2) Compare "Donnergott" (22, 404); "Donnervogel" (37); "Donnerschläge" (248); "Donnerwagen" (252).

3) Suphan XXIX, 178 - "(Aurora:) Und gebe Blumen, Jünglingen und Schönen - Erfrischend sie, der Morgenröthe Kleid, - "Morgenroth" (XXIX, 13).

Herder like Klopstock employs the word "Harmonie" in describing the unity of nature, but he also uses almost interchangably with it the term "Sympathie", which plays so great a rôle in Plotinus and the Neo Platonists.

"Vom Himmel klingt die Harmonie;
Und Himmelsseelen bindet sie." (XXIX, 691).

"... Auf Einem Wege
Ward aus Allem Sympathie." (XXIX, 130).

"Der Sphären sangen mir Harmonie;
Der Stimmen süsseste, Sympathie ..." (XXIX, 189).

"Weisheit, Macht und Güte weben
In des Wurmes und Engels Leben
Wahrheit, Harmonie und Glück." (XXIX, 122).

"Sie o Sie (Menschlichkeit)
Die Königin der Harmonie." (XXIX, 607).¹

"Es schwebet aus den Saiten;
Es lispelt mir ins Ohr.
Der Geist der Harmonien,
Der Weltgeist tritt hervor.
'Ich bin es, der die Wesen
In ihre Hülle zwang,
Und sie mit Zaubereien
Der Sympathie durchdrang.'" (XXIX, 93).

"Des Weltalls süsse Symphonieen
Umtönten sie;
Der Liebe süsse Harmonieen
Durchwallten sie". (XXIX, 151).

1) Compare: "Wo in einer andern Welt Harmonien klingen" (XXIX, 107); "Der Wesen Harmonie" (140); "höre mit Geistes Ohr die hohe Harmonie" (209); "ich fühl und seh und höre die Harmonie der ganzen Sphäre" (231); "überall Gefühl und Harmonien" (280); "die Harmonien der Seelen schöner Jugend" (286); "höretest Harmonie der Sprachen dich!" (325); "schweig, o hohe Harmonie meiner Seelenkräfte!" (444); "mein Herz ward Sphärenharmonie" (559); "und ein Sternengang voll ewger Harmonieen" (560); "Klang und Maas und Sympathie" (153); "Die Harmonie der Welt" (157).

The "allgemeiner Weltgeist" or spiritus universi of theosophy Herder, as well as Klopstock, conceives of as a great, infinite, invisible spirit which embraces all the universe and brings man's complete inner self (feeling combined with reason) into perfect harmony. Its human manifestation is love and friendship, and its ultimate goal is the peace and happiness of the human race.

"... o schöne Mutter Natur
dein edelster Funke!
Freundschaft! Edelster Funke! ... des edelsten Funken
 in aller deiner Flammennatur ..." (XXIX, 367).

"Die zarten Bande, die das Weltall halten,
 Die ewigjunge rege Sympathie,
 Die Himmelsglut, in der die Wesen brennen
 Wie willst du anders sie, als Liebe nennen?" (XXIX, 172).

"In Ein Gefühl verschlungen
 Sind wir ein ewig all -
 In Einen Ton verschlungen
 Der Gottheit Wiederhall!" (XXIX, 93).¹

1) Compare: "Weltgeist" (XXIX, 39); Lehenbild III, 1, p. 111; XXIX, 205, 305); "Rettergeist, Schutzgeist" (492); "Schöpfer, Urkünstler" (559); "Schöpfer Geist" (641); "Menschengott" (455-456); "Gott Schöpfer, Vater, Mittler" (234); "Erdengeist" (232); "Erdengenius" (572); "der grosse rege Geist" (206); "Urgeist", "Sonnengenius" (207); "Allmächt'ge Güte" (566); "Schöpfersduft" (390); "Trieben der Gottheit - Geist der Schöpfung" (325); "Mittelpunkt" (221 & 235); "es schlägt ein grosses Herz in der Natur" (209); "O Natur! du glänzest unerschöpflich reich" (287); "Mutter Natur" (364-365); "Lebensgeist, Wirkgeist, Freudengeist" (438). Compare: Suphan XXIX, 115, 235, 344, 374, 275, 442, 444, 455f., 566, 610, 230, 325, 221, 312, 287, 364f., 438; IV, 168, 205.

Finally we may sum up the whole new message of an ideal humanity which Klopstock, and, in his foot-steps, Herder, brought to Germany in Herder's own stanza:

"Ich
bins in dem die Schöpfung sich
punktet, der in alles quillt
und der Alles in sich füllt! ..." (XXIX, 444).

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